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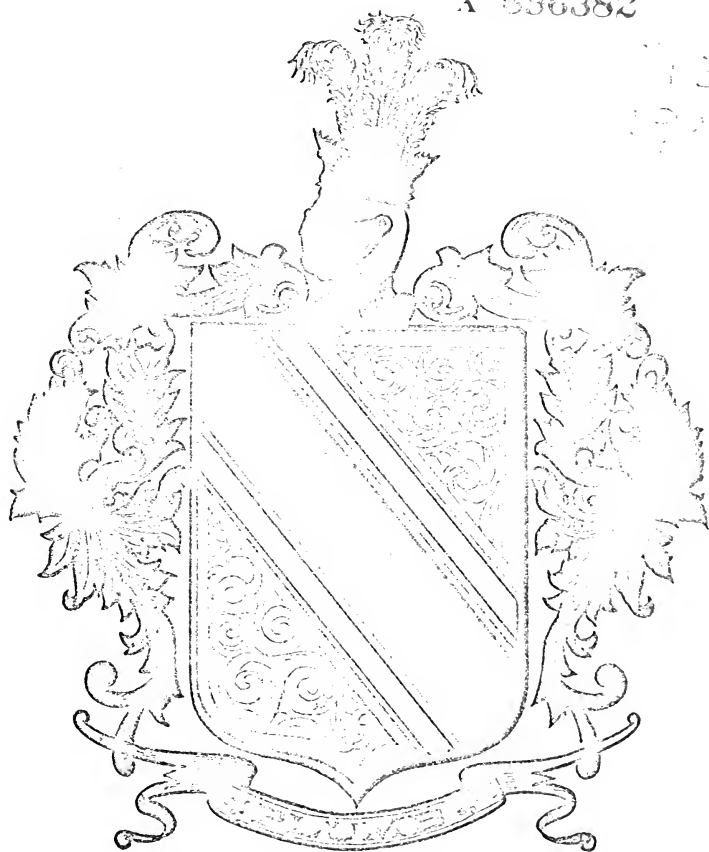
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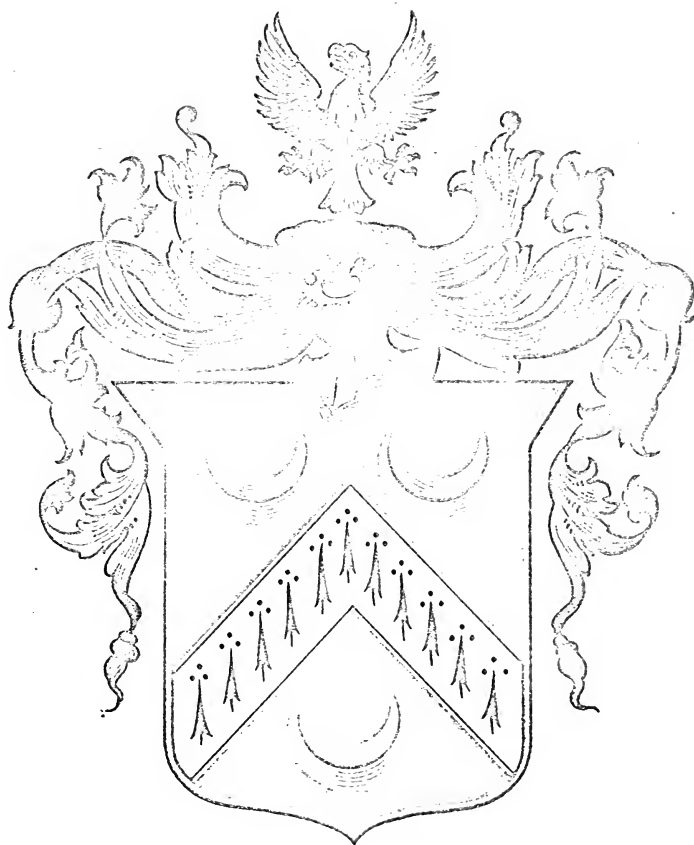
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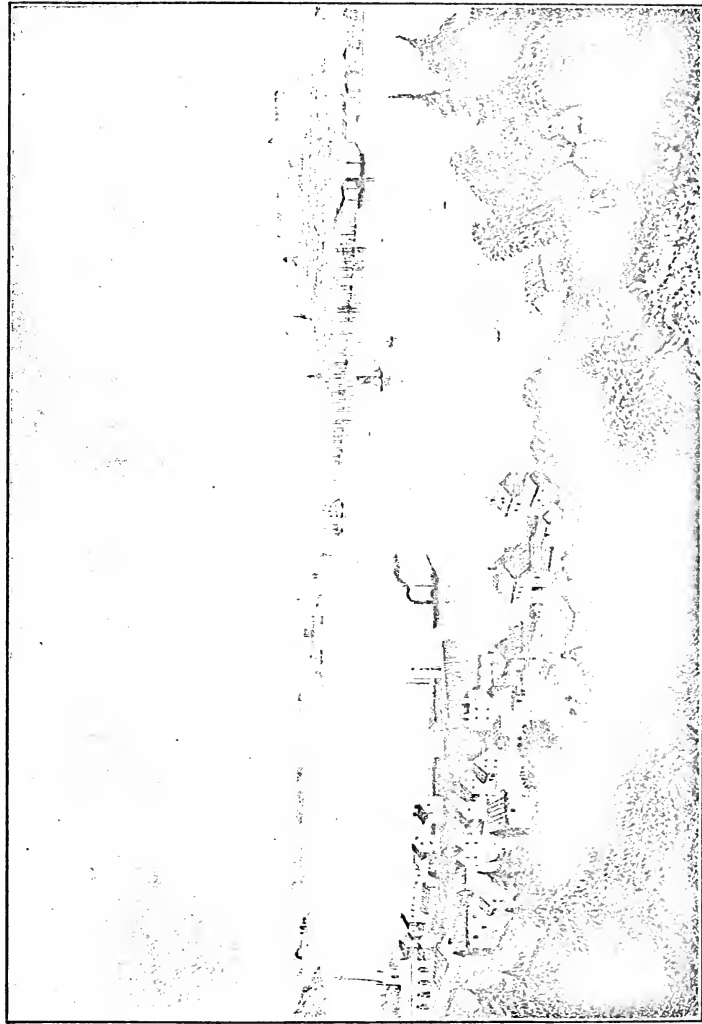
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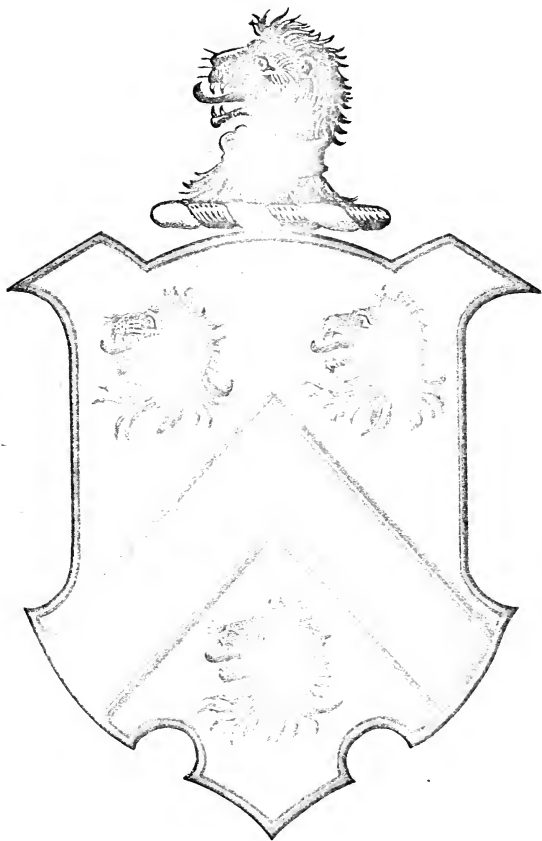
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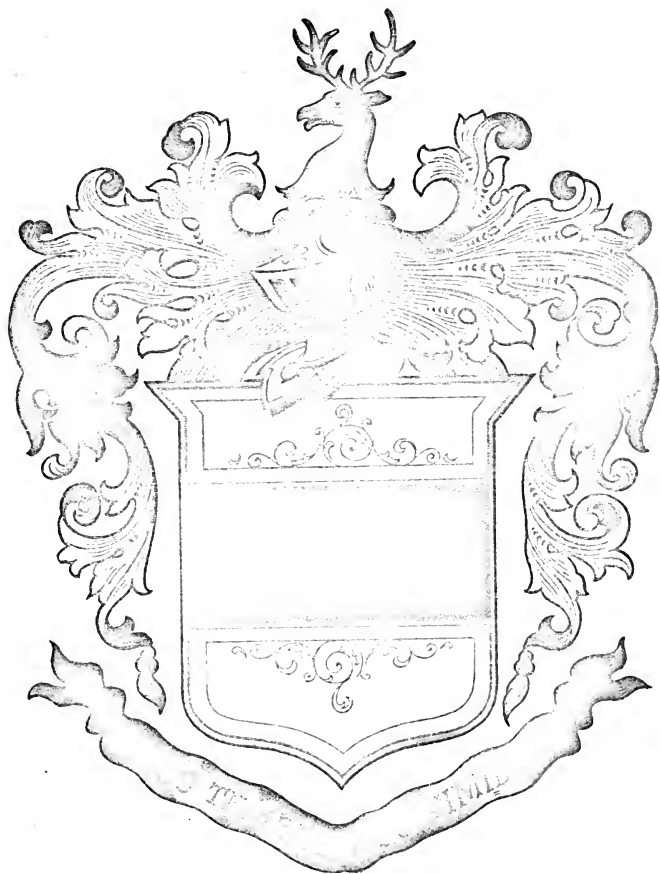
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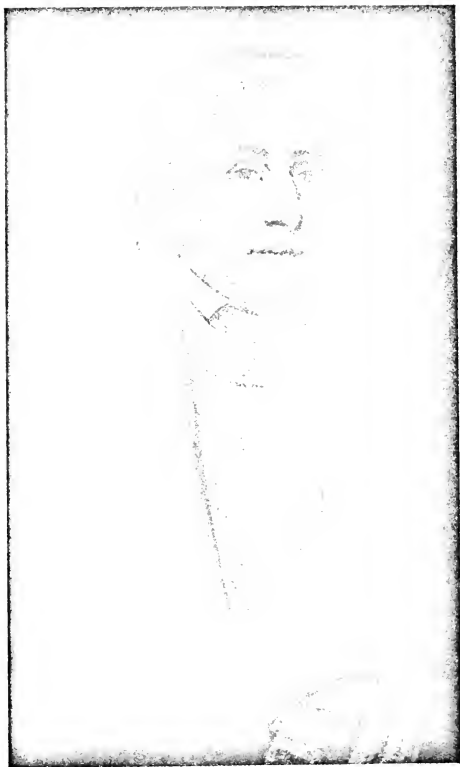
NEW YORK CITY

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GIDEON BLACKBURN.

AMERICANA

JANUARY, 1921

The Vision of an American Seer

BY THE REV. DUNCAN J. McMILLAN, D. D., NEW YORK CITY



IN A NATION such as ours, whose government springs from the people, and is administered by representatives chosen and instructed by the people, a general intelligence and capacity for right thinking are essential. With the first conception of popular government, therefore, the necessity for educational institutions for the instruction of the people was recognized. A college for the instruction and training of teachers for the schools and leaders of the people became a necessity. Thus Harvard College was established six years before the first common school.

The college has ever been the parent of the common school on the one hand, and, on the other, of the university, with its technical and professional schools. The university exists chiefly for the technical, professional and special courses, which require the previous instruction and training of the college. Its mission is to impart knowledge, without regard to mental discipline and habits.

The smaller college not only prepares for technical and professional schools, but it exerts a distinctive influence upon the people. It develops the powers of thinking independently and accurately. Our forefathers so thought when they established colleges everywhere. The results were seen in the quality of men they produced—men with the power to discern good reasoning from bad, who came through a process of preparation, not of mere information. Thus the college, with its training and its intellectual and moral enlightenment, lies very near to the heart of American social life.

The smaller college is commended by its processes. It provides a close and manly intercourse and helpful sympathy between faculty

and students which are entirely wanting in the university, where the professors seldom know the students individually and have nothing in common with them or with their mental habits, where the student is exposed to a bewilderment of knowledge with no personal instruction of help in turning it to good account.

A special value of smaller colleges is the ease with which they may be multiplied for the more equal distribution of educational advantages and facilities in a great expanding nation. An important mission of the college is to find the boy, and then to help him to find himself. Its function, therefore, is not only to diffuse influence and benefits widely, but also to prepare for the whole of life rather than for a particular part of life, or craft, or occupation. It lays a broad foundation for whatever career a man is to follow.

The smaller colleges, located as they generally are in small communities remote from great cities, provide for instruction, board, and all needful things, at little expense, expose the student to few temptations to extravagance, and attract youth of modest means and earnest purpose. Class distinctions are less sharply drawn, and the democracy of student life without the overshadowing presence of the professional schools is of special advantage. The instruction in these colleges is not only personal, but usually given by young men of modern training, who, having their reputation yet to make, are doing their best work. Games and athletic contests, while ample for all practicable purposes, do not make extravagant demands upon either the time or the purposes of the student.

James A. Garfield said: "A log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a boy on the other, was a college." A greater than Garfield proved that a log with a resolute boy with a maul and wedge at one end and nobody at the other, was a good substitute for a college. Abraham Lincoln received in his youth his only schooling from his only teacher, William G. Greene, then pursued his own methods, with men for his library and nature for his laboratory.

It is quite significant that of the twenty-eight Presidents of the United States, the great universities have provided but six. Harvard gave three, two of whom, however, graduated when Harvard was a small college. Yale gave but one,—and Princeton two, who pursued their entire course while Princeton was yet a small college. Nine of our Presidents were without college degrees, and the remaining fourteen were from small colleges.

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We may well view with alarm the power of the university, its steady encroachment upon the smaller college with the apparent purpose of suppressing it. It would be difficult upon any other theory to explain the adjustment of the courses of study in many of the universities. Certain it is that the shortening of the college course to three years, and in some cases its further reduction to two years, which followed the demand of the same universities for the lengthening of the course in the preparatory schools, has, designedly or undesignedly, the practical effect of forcing the college out of existence. That it is designedly so appears from two considerations:

1. The university offers students the privilege of entering upon professional or technical studies before completing even the proposed shortened college course, with the further privilege of substituting technical work for certain college studies, thus blending later college and early university courses. Then further shortening the time between the college freshmen year and the completion of the technical or professional course. This operates to minimize college work, and to deprive the student of the culture and the broad base for his profession for which a complete college course has always been supposed to provide.

2. It is pointedly significant that these privileges are held out to students following both college and professional courses in the same university, while students entering the university from other colleges are required to present certificates of having satisfactorily completed the full four years college course as a condition of entering upon professional and technical studies.

While Columbia, Harvard and Johns Hopkins are holding out such inducements, Cornell goes further and requires but two years of college work for those who take both courses in that institution. Whatever may be said in favor of the system, the tendency must be unwholesome for college work and hurtful to colleges not connected with universities. It cannot be that the smaller college has had its day, for without it our country would suffer irreparably. The college is the only exponent of a liberal culture as distinguished from a specialized training. It would be better to divorce the university and the college, rather than that the college should be thus dominated by the university. The popular maxim: "Teach a boy that which he will practice when he becomes a man," is the most plausible plea the university has to offer, except as it is confined in its application to the technical and professional schools.

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The business of the college is not so much to impart special knowledge as to develop and train the powers of the boy. When a boy enters a gymnasium he does not confine his training to what he will actually "practice when he becomes a man." He is not expected to go through life with his heels in the air, or swinging dumbbells and Indian clubs; but he is expected to be trained in those exercises which will impart grace of action, develop powers of endurance, promote health, strengthen in due and proper proportion the muscles of the body. The college is the intellectual gymnasium where powers of mind and heart are developed and poised to meet the requirements of oncoming professional, business and social life. It is indispensable to the well balanced man that all his faculties be like a retinue of trained servants, each in form ready to do his bidding. It is the business of the college thus to provide the man with that which, in all his course, he cannot elsewhere acquire.

It is folly to charge, as one of the most brilliant but erratic opponents of the college once charged, that "it is the business of the college to polish pebbles and dim diamonds." It is well that he credits the college with the power to "polish pebbles." That is a sufficient commendation, for a majority of men are what he calls "pebbles." They ought all to be polished. The old Scotch shipbuilder was right when he said to Dr. McCosh: "Make a boy intelligent and capable, and I will make him a shipbuilder." But the brilliant opponent of colleges was wrong in his implication that diamonds could be dimmed by the processes by which pebbles are polished.

In the Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education, 1917, No. 22, there is a statement which is of interest in this connection:

Distinguished Men of America and Their Education:

With no schooling—Of 5,000,000, only 31 attained distinction.

With elementary schooling—Of 33,000,000, 808 attained distinction.

With high school education—Of 2,000,000, 1245 attained distinction.

With college education—Of 1,000,000, 5768 attained distinction.

The child with no schooling has one chance in 150,000 of performing distinguished service: elementary education multiplies his chances four times, high school education 87 times, and college education 800 times.

It is sometimes said that college education is not practical,—that the college produces learned theorists, while inventors and practical

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men who make the world move, are not college bred. Even if it be granted that this is often true, yet it must be remembered that a theorist is of great value to the world. He almost invariably throws out the great ideas in abstract which are seized by the practical man who without them would never have discerned them and worked them into useful form. Though it be true that the idea never would have occurred to the practical man, it is equally true that the idea never would have been turned to good account by the theorist. The real author of the invention seldom derives good from it. Still, if he *can* do no good with it, justice could hardly give him the reward for it. But is he not at least an equal factor in the product?

But it cannot be maintained that the colleges are prolific in mere theorists. Indeed, they abound with apparatus, with libraries, and with appliances for practical experiment which, for manifest reasons, cannot be obtained elsewhere by the youth. There exists no reason why the training should not be made practical, and every student be taught how to apply his knowledge to the great interests with which he has a living concern. Without the appliances which colleges afford for practical experiment, mere theorists are far more apt to abound.

The Seer.—A nation's institutions find their best interpretation in the characteristics of her representative citizens; her hope is in the statesmen she produces, her security is in their intelligence, her strength is in their numbers and loyalty; and her glory is in the greatest number of peaceful and happy homes. When these essentials are exemplified in the attributes of her people, the world may read in them the secret of her permanence and power. In no country are there truths more marked and manifest than in a Republic such as our own. Each citizen is charged with his measure of responsibility for the affairs of the nation. The typical American is the impersonation of strength, of loyalty, and of an unfettered mind. Our nation has been prolific in the production of such men. They have been distributed in generous measure throughout the generations which span our history.

Prominent among those who have left ineffaceable impress upon our national life and institutions must ever stand that hardy frontiersman, that gallant soldier of the Cross and of his country, that friend of progress and humanity, that eminent patron of education,



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Gideon Blackburn, the founder of the institution which bears his name. With the wisdom of a statesman and the vision of a seer, he lived and wrought for the generations which were to follow. He was born of Scotch-Irish parents, in Augusta county, Virginia, August 27th, 1772,—just before our nation came to its birth. His life reached beyond the first third of the nineteenth century, thus linking our nation's infancy with its early maturity. His childhood was spent during that stormy period when our country was in the throes of the Revolutionary War. In a God-fearing, liberty-loving home, he breathed the spirit of independence and hope and rugged determination—the elemental principles which were inwrought into every fibre of his character. His father, Robert Blackburn, and his mother (whose maiden name was Ritchie), were cumbered with very little of this world's goods. In the school of poverty and adversity, therefore, Gideon early learned the resolute lesson of self-help,—that school which, however philosophers may explain it, has produced about all the really great men in our national history.

Gideon Blackburn lived until his twelfth year with his grandfather, General Blackburn, after whose death the boy was practically adopted by his maternal uncle, Gideon Ritchie, a poor but pious bachelor. At the age of fifteen, he became a professing Christian. After the Revolutionary War, a mighty tide of emigration poured over the Allegheny Mountains into the great eldorado of the West, and with it went the parents and uncle with young Gideon, and made a home in Washington county, North Carolina, which afterwards became a part of Tennessee. The first settlers there had preceded them but ten years. Here the boy had the good fortune to come under the instruction of Dr. Samuel Doak, who had just established Martin Academy, the first institution for secondary education west of the mountains, and which soon became Washington College, under charter granted by Congress and signed by President Washington. Here Gideon Blackburn took his literary course and laid the foundation for his broader learning. The uncle, with the boy, moved seventy miles further westward into Jefferson county. In this new home Gideon extended his studies under the instruction of his father's brother, John Blackburn. To this time, his literary resources had been chiefly confined to the scanty library which Dr. Samuel Doak had brought over the mountains in his saddlebags. Under the softening influences of the Godly home in which he had been reared,

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his rugged buoyant strength was softened by gentle graces. Everything else in his youthful environment was rough, primitive and romantic. The sins of intemperance and profanity were rampant, partaking of the vigor of everything on the frontier. It was easy to be wicked, aggressively wicked, but most difficult and heroic to be aggressively good and maintain an active Christian life. Young Blackburn, with a heart full of the love of God and sympathy for men, and accustomed to think and plan in terms of aggressive heroism, naturally turned to the Gospel ministry. Its aims were in harmony with his holy ambition for the salvation of men. Its difficulties and discouragements afforded congenial occupation for his genius and the habits of his life. His impulses were those of the nobler frontiers men who conquer the wild regions and wilder men. His desire was to extend Christian civilization over his country's everwidening domain. With such a career in view, he studied theology with the Rev. Robert Henderson, at Danridge, on the Tennessee river, thirty miles east of Knoxville. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Abington in the year 1792, and ordained in 1795.

Here we find him, in the vigor of enthusiastic young manhood, on the threshold of his career, without a dollar in the world, but plentifully endowed with the better capital of health and strength and the faith which removes mountains and uses difficulties as stepping-stones to great achievements. See him standing full six feet two, with large head crowned with glossy black hair, a receding forehead, and prominent brows protecting large and lustrous blue eyes, his nose prominent and aquiline, but, like his other features, finely chiseled, his lips thin and compressed with decision, while their corners were upward turned to relieve any suggestion of austerity, his strong but not heavy-set jaw indicating firmness of purpose without the slightest semblance of coarseness. The one physical blemish of this splendid athlete was an almost imperceptible lameness caused by the fracture of his right limb by accident in early life. Unskillful surgical attention followed by white swelling left the limb an inch too short. But there was a graceful concealment of this blemish in his soldierlike form and action.

Armed with his trusty rifle in one hand and the "Sword of the Spirit" in the other, hearing the call of destiny, forth he went into the great needy, waiting world, to follow no lead but that of opportunity, and to build on no foundation but that which his own hands

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should lay. The scattered unorganized and unshepherded settlements, exposed to the incursions of warlike savages, needed most of all strong, wise, fearless leadership. The prospect which would have discouraged a less resolute man, proved an inspiration to Gideon Blackburn. With a character built upon a Scotch granite foundation, he had enough of Irish wit and eloquence to gain the ear and win the heart of the people, and American flexibility to make him adaptable to any emergency. We find him leading a company of soldiers to man a fort on the spot where the little city of Maryville now stands. Preaching to the soldiers and winning their esteem, and with their companionship and protection preaching to settlements, he established the New Providence church, and built up Eusebia church ten miles away,—churches which continue to this day; the city of Maryville and its splendid college growing up around New Providence church has never changed its name. He had extended military experience in the frequent struggles with the hostile tribes which frequently fretted the settlements, and many years later as chaplain in General Jackson's army, where he commanded the confidence, companionship and esteem of that great chieftain and President.

In 1803, in the thirty-first year of his age, he was a commissioner to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Philadelphia. Though without the advantages of eastern training or experience among men of culture and prominence, we find this young frontiersman attracting the attention of the Assembly. Though among its youngest members, he at once took high rank. He served on the most important committee—that on bills and overtures, with such men as Drs. Woodhull and Blair, Archibald Alexander, and Waugh. Before adjournment, he secured an act authorizing a mission among the Cherokee Indians, and an appropriation of \$250, a princely sum for those days, and the largest made by that Assembly for any purpose. The Mission which he inaugurated under that act was, in its far-reaching influence and results, the most important ever attempted among Indians on this continent. It would be pleasant to follow its history in detail, but it may here only be said in brief that for seven years the General Assembly annually made increasing appropriations for its maintenance under Gideon Blackburn's personal care. At one time, at the Assembly's suggestion, he went to the eastern cities and raised \$5,000 for that work, establishing

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Hiawassee Academy and some smaller schools. The Cherokees then possessed a territory embracing the southwest corner of North Carolina, the northwest part of Georgia, the northeast part of Alabama, and that part of Tennessee lying south of the Tennessee and Hiawassee rivers, 250 miles in length and 130 in width, and containing 10,000,000 acres of land; their population was about 17,000. Twenty years from the establishment of that mission work among them, about five hundred of their young men and women could read and write, and were advanced correspondingly in other branches, were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, and many were leading exemplary Christian lives. They had built public roads, had made good advancement in agriculture, domestic manufactures, and the mechanic arts. They had made a grant of 100,000 acres of land for a perpetual school fund to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States for the education of their children. They had instituted a civil government, and their legislative proceedings were marked by integrity, intelligence and patriotism. They had divided their land into eight districts or counties, had laid a tax on their people to build a court house in each county, and appointed four circuit judges. Their incipient jurisprudence, even at that day, secured the respect of the people. Had our national government adopted the policy so clearly marked out by Gideon Blackburn and reasonably vindicated by these great results, our long record of shameful transactions with the Indians, and many a bloody struggle with them, would have been averted, many a tribe now extinct before the destructive tread of our people might have survived to honor their ancestry and bless our country, and many a black chapter in our national history would have been unwritten. For a quarter of a century there has not been a "blanket Indian" nor a "wickiup" among the Cherokees. They have come into the Union as a most important part of the State of Oklahoma. Had Gideon Blackburn done nothing else but establish and maintain that Mission, its far-reaching consequences would have rendered him immortal. It was enough for one human life to have accomplished.

But his varied activities up to this time, instead of rounding out his life-work and filling the measure of his responsibility, only proved an apprenticeship for the larger sphere for which it so fittingly prepared him. Leaving the Mission in skillful hands which

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he had trained, in impaired health he retired, for a short rest, into Georgia. In 1811 we find him at Franklin, Tennessee, preaching to churches in a circuit of fifty miles. With mighty power he drew the people to his services. With a voice sweet and musical and with marvelous carrying quality, an eye mild with gentle radiance, brilliant when animated, always sympathetic and kind, and with a picturesque way of presenting Gospel truth, he was well-nigh irresistible. At one of the communion services three thousand persons were present. He was not as learned as his successor at New Providence church, the Rev. Dr. Isaac Anderson, who founded a theological seminary in Maryville; nor perhaps as eloquent as the eminent James McCreedy, the great evangelist of the revival of 1800; nor as formidable in debate as Dr. Frederick A. Ross; but he easily excelled them all in the power of putting Gospel truth in a clear, striking, convincing, vivid and memorable way. His ability as a preacher was recognized by the General Assembly of 1807, of which he was a member. Rarely if ever has one so young been invited to preach before that great body. After preaching a sermon on Missions by its appointment, the Assembly voted its thanks, with a request for a copy of the sermon for publication. He was frequently sent as a commissioner to the Assembly, and always held an influential place among its leading members. He was for a time pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Nashville, Tennessee, of which Andrew Jackson, his former commander, was a member until his death.

With a phenomenal capacity for work, and unusual versatility, he added to his extensive ministerial charge the management of Harpeth Academy as its principal. Here he trained young men for the ministry, feeding and sheltering them in his own home, and teaching them theology after the completion of their academic studies. Such was the custom of the times before the day of theological seminaries, in preparing candidates for the ministry. And there were in those days giants in the pulpit, whose mighty eloquence shook the great southwest, resulting in the wonderful revivals where thousands were irresistibly moved in a way which no man has ever been able to explain, and which we must refer to as an unusual manifestation of the power of the Spirit of God. Thus was laid the foundation of the Christian church in the great States lying west of the Alleghenies and south of the Ohio.

In 1818 the college at Greenville conferred on Mr. Blackburn the

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academic degree of D. D. But this did not quench his missionary zeal. He completed twelve years of prodigious work in his Franklin circuit and Academy. In 1823 he received and accepted a call to the church in Louisville, Kentucky. His ministry there, though brilliant and fruitful, was short. The Centre College at Danville, sweeping the horizon for a president, chose him. He accepted its call, but the work was not large enough for his expansive vision. He retired, after two years of service, to West Tennessee, where, like Elijah, the great prophet of old, he sought and obtained counsel of the Lord. He saw the mighty march of populations westward. He heard the rumble and roar of the oncoming future.*

Moving with the multitudes westward, Gideon Blackburn came to Illinois. For a time he was engaged as financial agent for the Illinois College at Jacksonville. But this was not far-reaching enough to measure the range of his vision. He saw in the coming days the dawn of a new expansive era. He saw in the wide prairies and

*Our wisest sages caught no such vision. Senator Thomas H. Benton, in a memorable speech in 1825, said: "The ridge of the Rocky Mountains may be named as a convenient, natural and everlasting boundary. Along that ridge the western limits of the republic should be drawn, and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be erected upon its highest peak, never to be thrown down."

Daniel Webster, speaking in the Senate about the western part of our country, said: "What do we want of this vast worthless area? this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts or those endless mountain ranges, impenetrable and covered to their base with endless snows? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast—a coast of 3,000 miles, rockbound, cheerless and uninviting, and not a harbor on it? What use have we for such a country? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer Boston than it is now."

When Marcus Whitman, the intrepid Indian missionary of the Northwest, entered his plea for interposition on the part of the administration for the rescue of the Oregon country from British grasp, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, said: "Mr. Whitman, you can never get a wheel across the Rocky Mountains." Mr. Whitman replied, "Mr. Webster, I will show you." And he did show Mr. Webster and the world something of the possibilities of subjugating the West, when he took the first wagon across the Rocky Mountains to Oregon. He was the great path-maker. General Frémont, some years later, became known as the great "Path-finder."

At the close of the Mexican War, Mr. Webster expressed something more than indifference towards the proposition to accept the great southwestern region from Mexico. He said: "Why, you will never see fifty families in that whole region."

General W. T. Sherman, as late as 1868, when on a visit to Carlinville, was asked his opinion of "Seward's folly" in the purchase of Alaska for \$7,500,000, remarked, in derision: "A suitable name for that land would be, 'Walrussia.'" And about that time, while inspecting the military posts in the southwest, being asked if he thought there was any prospect of a war with Mexico, replied, "We might have to whip Mexico to make her take back New Mexico and Arizona."

These men were great and wise, but sages are not always seers. They acquire their wisdom from the past and are men of backward vision. But Gideon Blackburn and Whitman, and such men as the Clarks and Sheldon Jackson, were seers whose "eyes look right on, and whose eyelids look straight before them," and who never, like Lot's wife, look over the shoulder.

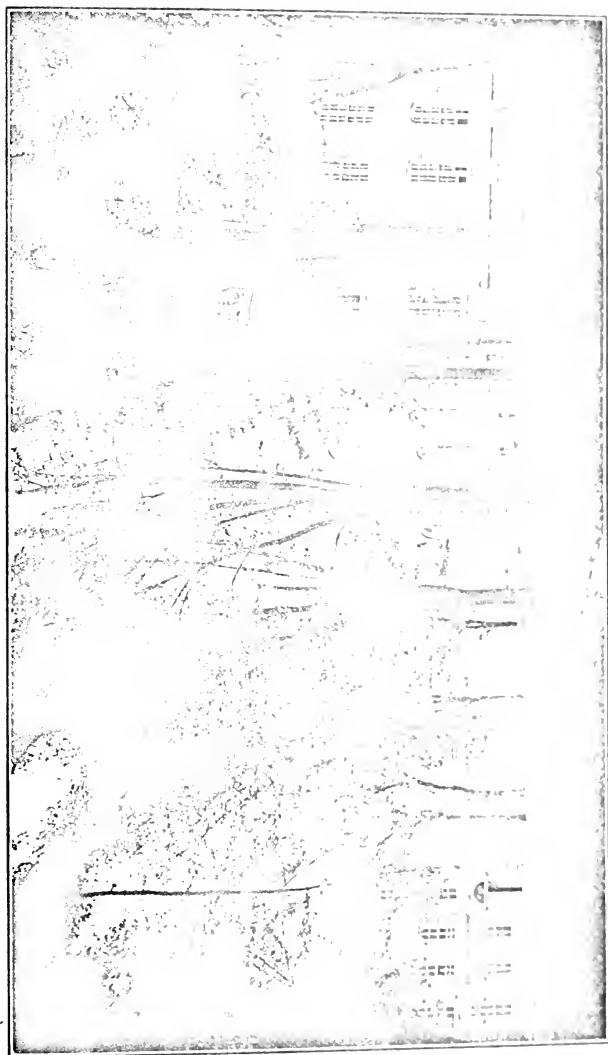


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plains and in the rugged mountains, the great variety of natural resources of soil and minerals, the metals, the acids and oils; and too, unrecognized sources of wealth—the apt and eloquent types and symbols of the mingling elements of mankind that were destined to spread over that vast unpeopled solitude, and the populations that were to grow and thrill and rise in that mighty theatre on which the destiny of our nation must inevitably be wrought out. His great patriotic, loving heart was moved as the Master's was when He looked upon the surging masses of Jerusalem, and the Hope of the World is the hope of our country,—the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the arts and enterprises which accompany it. No period in any country's history so much needs it as the initial period of its settlement. To provide leaders especially reared and educated for that business, was the work with which Dr. Blackburn desired to crown his life. Choosing Carlinville, a little hamlet on the border line where the "Grand Prairie" disputes the further encroachment of the Macoupin forest, he made it his final earthly home.

The obvious fact that a new developing country has no surplus or unused money, was no deterrent to his enthusiasm. Accustomed to do his own thinking and of doing it in his own way, he devised an original plan. Knowing that there were unemployed fortunes in eastern cities looking for safe permanent investments, he offered his services as an agent for the purchase of western lands on a simple and feasible proposition. The Government lands were offered at \$1.25 per acre. He would ask \$2 for each acre which he would personally select and purchase for the investor. Of this sum, \$1.25 would pay for the land, twenty-five cents would pay his expenses, and the remaining fifty cents would be held and invested in land for the ultimate founding of the proposed institution. Proceeding upon this plan, he raised funds sufficient to purchase nearly 17,000 acres of land for the college. The plan was unique in its design and successful in execution. The citizens of Carlinville contributed funds sufficient to purchase eighty acres of land near the village for the site of the college building and campus.

These lands were all entered in Dr. Blackburn's name, but in May, 1837, he deeded them to certain trustees for the founding and maintenance of his contemplated institution. However, he was not permitted to see its actual establishment. His vision was closed, his



BLACKBURN COLLEGE, CARLINVILLE, ILLINOIS.

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work was completed, and in the ripe splendor of a good old age he "fell on sleep."

Pascal observes that there are three very different orbits in which great men move and shine. There are those who as heroes fill the world with their exploits; they are greeted by the acclamations of the multitude. Others there are who by the brilliancy of their imagination or the vigor of their intellect, attain to honor of a purer and higher kind. A third description remains, distinct from both the former and far more exalted than either, whose excellence consists in a renunciation of themselves and a compassionate love for mankind. In this order the Savior of the World was pleased to appear; and those persons obtain the highest rank in it who, by His grace, are enabled most closely to imitate His example. In this class surely is enrolled the name of Gideon Blackburn. In a green billowy field, white-crested with the tombs which mark the resting places of the dead, there stands a tomb of pulpit form and Bible crowned. Around its base, on each memorial day, let fairest flowers fall, for in the grave beneath lies the moldering form of the noblest soldier of them all—Gideon Blackburn, the Founder of Blackburn College.

Though Gideon Blackburn died many years before the college came into being, he had designated another whom he had inspired with his vision and who was destined to take up the torch which he laid down. He had made known to Edward McMillan, a young minister residing in Tennessee, who in his youth had been under his instruction, his vision of the great Northwest, its future, and his plan for founding an institution for the training of young men. In later years he informed Mr. McMillan that he had purchased lands, and that he desired the college to open as soon as conditions would warrant. A score of years after Dr. Blackburn's death, Mr. McMillan carried into action a long cherished purpose of leaving the land of slavery in which he was born and had always lived. Resisting many alluring calls, he removed in 1856 with his family, which included six bouncing boys, to Carlinville, and became one of the trustees of the institution. The following year a charter was obtained from the legislature, exempting the property of the institution from taxation, a building was erected, and a preparatory school was opened with Rev. John C. Downer as principal, and Mr. Jacob Clark as assistant. Disturbing causes preceding the Civil War compelled the temporary closing of the school.

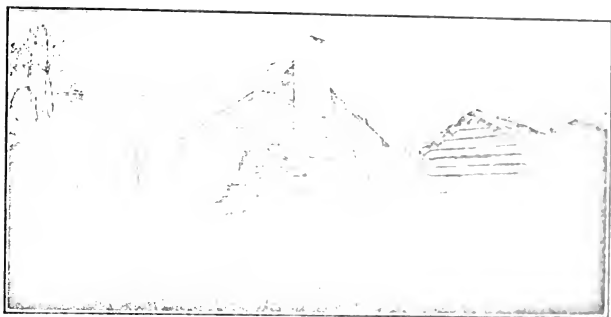
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The Board of Trustees consisted of A. McKim Dubois, Judge. John M. Palmer, Philander Braley and Rev. Edward McMillan, all of Carlinville; Dr. Augustus T. Norton and Isaac Scarritt, of Alton; Anderson M. Blackburn, of Jerseyville; David A. Smith, of Jacksonville; Rev. Dr. Robert W. Patterson and Judge Brown of Chicago,—all men of high standing in the State.

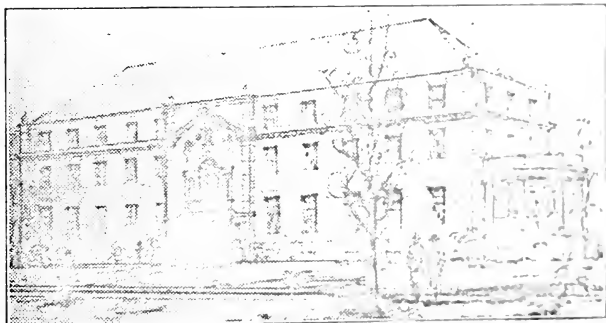
There was an excellent building. There were lands all over the country, dedicated to the purpose of creating an institution of learning, rising steadily in value. And there was abundant raw material for a school. Conditions called for a man of initiative, not a place seeker, nor one who would depend upon the office to give him prominence, but a man who could lay his own foundation and build upon it. Mr. McMillan saw and understood the situation and knew the man for the place. Some years before, while pastor of the Presbyterian church at Gallatin, Tennessee, he frequently preached at Castalian Springs, a popular health resort, surrounded by a wealthy population in the midst of which was a remarkable and quite famous academy under charge of Robert B. Minton, a young man of talent, learning and eminent ability, who had been educated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and Ohio University. Mr. Minton was a very handsome man, splendidly built, of fine proportions, an abundance of black, curly hair, bright, penetrating but kind and attractive eyes, a forceful but smiling and winsome face—a combination of form, features and facial expression such as is very rarely seen.

From Mr. Minton's Castalian Springs Academy came forth young men who became conspicuous—William B. Bate, who achieved prominence as a general in the Confederate army, and afterwards as Governor of Tennessee, then a longtime United States Senator, being the senior member of that body at the time of his death. His younger brother Humphrey became colonel of the First Tennessee Infantry in the Confederate army, and was killed at Fort Donelson; B. B. M. L. Barr rose to prominence in his State. Two bright boys, Gates and Lambert, were sent all the way from New Orleans, being attracted by the reputation of that young principal.

Mr. Minton and his pastor saw the war cloud rising, and decided to leave the land of slavery for the free air of the North, that their children might never know the accursed institution. Mr. Minton, with his family, went to Ohio. Mr. McMillan, with his family, removed to Carlinville, Illinois. They never met again. But the



HOME OF GIDEON BLACKBURN AT TIME OF HIS DEATH;
CARLINVILLE, ILLINOIS.



DORMITORY, BLACKBURN COLLEGE.

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former pastor's efforts resulted in Mr. Minton's becoming principal of the Blackburn institution. With his family he arrived in Carlinville a month or two after Mr. McMillan had entered the Union army as chaplain. Prof. Minton found a building, an able board of trustees, sufficient endowment, an abundance of material to work upon, and he recognized his opportunity. He quietly opened the school in September, 1862, with a few scholars. Boys were attracted to him like steel filings to a magnet. He was a man of varied attainments, accurate scholarship, a master of the art of teaching, with an intuitive knowledge of human nature—especially the boy part of it—faultless and unfailing insight into the best elements in a boy and ability to help him to discover himself, and withal, a prodigious capacity for hard work. As the school grew, he was provided with assistance. He had rare judgment in selecting teachers, and called to his side Rev. Thomas H. Newton, a graduate of Princeton, a man of scholarly attainments and skill as a teacher, though in delicate health. He was succeeded by Rev. John B. L. Soule.

Prof. Minton possessed at least two remarkable if not unique traits of character which insured his success from the start. He was a boy among the boys and a man among men. He was with the boys in all their athletic games, and a match for the best of them. On the campus he shared the rough and tumble with them just the same as a boy. There was absolutely no difference on the playground, and it was his wish that there should be none. But in the classroom he was Prof. Minton, and it was not necessary to announce the fact. Every one felt it and knew it. As a disciplinarian he was faultless; as instructor, without a superior. In mathematics, the classic languages, and the sciences, he seemed equally proficient. He was perhaps happiest in mathematics, in which he never grew weary nor taxed the patience of his students. By his perfect knowledge of their nature, their difficulties and the working of their minds, he quickly discerned and promptly provided for the social and intellectual welfare of the boys. He was president of the literary society by acclamation; the other offices were filled by the students, and in this organization they acquired skill in extemporaneous speaking and familiarity with parliamentary procedure. While the rules were strictly enforced, there was the utmost freedom for wild and woolly eloquence—and there was plenty of it.

A college faculty became necessary. Rev. John W. Bailey, D. D.,

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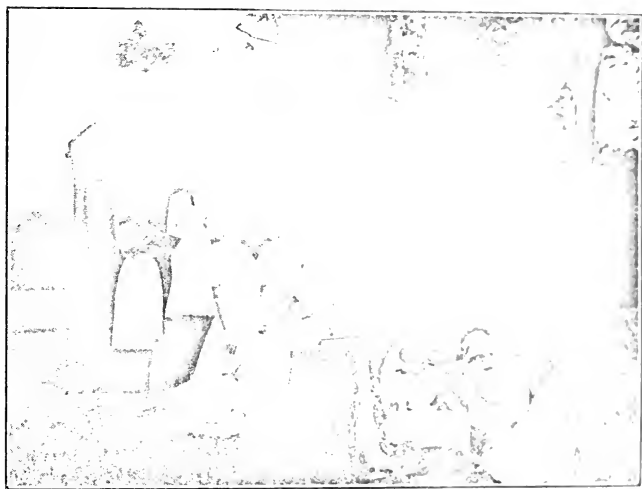
an accomplished scholar and teacher of experience, was elected president. Prof. Minton was chosen to the chair of Mathematics; Dr. Soule became professor of Greek and Latin; John D. Conley, a young graduate of Dartmouth, was given charge of the Physical Sciences. Necessary assistants for the professors were provided. The faculty has been increased from time to time. There has been a succession of presidents, each of whom has promoted in some special way the prosperity of the college. A large dormitory building, class rooms, a science hall, and an astronomical observatory were erected, and the college grew beyond its accommodations and equipments. The first class was graduated in 1870, and in June it celebrated its semi-centennial. The Chicago & Alton Railroad Company has recently given the boarding department two Pullman palace sleeping cars to be used as dormitories, and still hundreds of students have been turned away from lack of boarding accommodations.

Under the vigorous administration of President William M. Hudson, the college has advanced and is advancing along all lines. Its endowment funds have been increased by gifts from the living, among which the Carnegie Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation are represented, and by bequests from departed friends, who knew and admired the college and its able administration. Its self-help arrangements, made possible by its nearby farm of two hundred acres, offers a college education to any worthy youth of limited means. It encourages and develops the spirit of self-reliance which was so prominent in the great founder of the college. This department is briefly described in the following extract from a letter of a former student:

"Just when it looked as if there was not even a silver-plated lining to my black cloud, a friend came to me with words of hope. He told me of a little prairie college out in southern Illinois, where he said, 'young men and women with plenty of grit and gumption, but not much ready cash, are given a chance to work for their education.' That was the college for me. I didn't lose any time writing to the president, and he wrote right back to me 'come along,' which I did.

"Blackburn College is at Carlinville, Illinois, just about sixty miles north of Saint Louis. Possibly you've never heard of it, but it's got the biggest heart and about the least 'front' of any institution of learning in the country. At Blackburn there are no ivy-cov-





PALACE CAR, USED AS DORMITORY.

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ered impressive college buildings no atmosphere of wealth and power. Just two old brick buildings, built soon after the Civil War, two retired Pullman sleeping cars used as dormitories, and a two-hundred-acre farm. That's all. Yet that little college is putting one hundred young men and women on their feet each year. When I saw those Pullman cars, and how ingeniously they had been fitted up into rooms for the students, and heard the story of how the president of the college had secured those two old sleeping cars from the Pullman Company because the college didn't have the money to build a needed dormitory, I felt satisfied. I knew I had come to the right place. If the president could work out such a scheme as that, I knew he could find work for a one-armed boy.

"At Blackburn the young men run the farm and raise the food. The girls do the housework and cooking. By these means the students pay the larger part of their college expenses. Everybody works at Blackburn, not just a few self-supporting students. President William M. Hudson, who started this unique self-helping plan, immediately found work for me around the buildings. My college course had started and my foot was on the first rung."

A strong, educational feeling as a passion, a stirring impulse, seems to pervade our country. The great war seems to have extended the horizon of our youth. Within the last half dozen years, the colleges of our country have increased their enrollment immensely. It seems that the youth of the land have caught glimpses of larger things, and have been quickened by an impulse to strive after higher places which they are conscious of the ability to reach.

Mr. Julius H. Barnes, chairman of the institute of Public Service, says that during the last six years the number of students increased from 187,000 to 294,000. Mr. Barnes further says:

"The six-year increase since 1914 is equal to eighteen institutions the size of Columbia in 1914, or 100 colleges the size of Vassar. Taking the lower estimate for 1950, it means finding facilities over three times the total for 1920, at six or seven times the salary cost; it means adding 644,000 students or 200 colleges the size of Yale last year, sixty universities the size of California, 400 colleges the size of Oberlin, over 1,000 colleges the size of Williams, 1,400 colleges the size of Bryn Mawr. Even if these 210 colleges arrange to advance to 1,138,000, they will have reached only a small fraction of high school graduates."

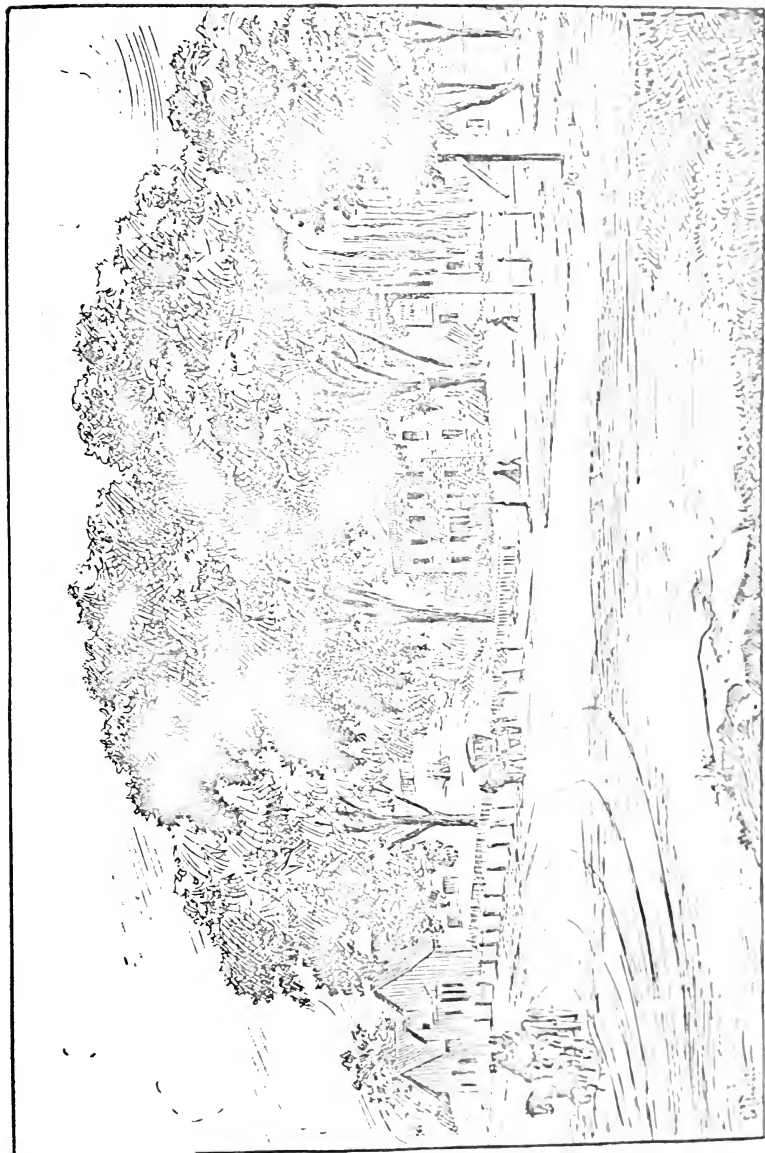
Blackburn College has had its full share of the increase. Its crop of students in this year's harvest is so large that its barns have burst and 125 applicants have been turned away for lack of accom-

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modations. But recent gifts have justified plans now maturing for expansion.

The graduates and former students are scattered all over the United States and in many foreign countries, engaged in all the honorable professions and occupations of life. Among those who have risen to prominence are: Maj.-Gen. John L. Clem, U. S. A., famous in Civil War history as "the drummer boy of Chickamauga;" Brig.-Gen. Herbert H. Sargent, U. S. A., a distinguished officer in the Spanish-American War, and author of a history of the same, as well as of masterly critiques of the Napoleonic campaigns; President David L. Felmley, Illinois State Normal College; Dr. William W. McLane, author. and divine, New Haven, Connecticut; Mary Austin, author of "Outland," and other books; Judge Alfred R. Page, of the Supreme Court, New York City; Judge Frank Burton, of the Circuit Court, Illinois; Judge Lewis Rinaker, Chicago, Illinois; Hon. Edward A. Gilbert, Lieutenant-Governor, Nebraska; Rev. Harlan P. Carson, D. D., Huron, South Dakota, father of the State Synod and founder of Huron College; Captain Fenwick Y. Hedley, editor and author, New York City, formerly an assistant adjutant general in General Sherman's army, and author of a history of Sherman's campaigns and other volumes; William A. Boring, architect of public buildings and Professor of Design, Columbia University, New York City; Charles J. Smith, vice-president of Washington Trust Company, Seattle, Washington; State Senators William L. Mounts and Thomas Rinaker, of Illinois; William H. Anderson, Prohibition Leader; Hon. Henry G. McMillan, capitalist, Salt Lake City.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The writer of the foregoing narrative was himself a graduate of the institution of which he writes. His career has been varied and highly useful. As a youth, he was a soldier under Grant and Sherman. He held various Presbyterian pastorates, and for some years was superintendent of Presbyterian Mission Schools and Church Work in the Far West, and as such instituted various schools, academies and colleges. He was secretary of two great boards of the Presbyterian Church—Home Missions, and Church Erection; and is now general secretary of the New York Sabbath Committee. His father, the Rev. Edward McMillan, mentioned as one of the Blackburn trustees, was a chaplain in Gen. Sherman's army, and died in front of Atlanta, Georgia, in the summer of 1864, his death due to exposure during his unceasing ministrations to the soldiers of his regiment. He enjoyed the personal esteem of Abraham Lincoln, and in the political campaign of 1856 he introduced the future President to a large audience in Carlinville, Illinois; among his hearers were the writer of the foregoing narrative, and the editor of this magazine. Another of the trustees of the college, John M. Palmer, became a major-general in the Union army of 1861-65, Governor of Illinois, and United States Senator. The New York Sabbath Committee of which Dr. McMillan is general secretary is not to be confounded with any of the present-day bodies. It had its origin in a mass meeting of New York City business men in 1857, and is therefore in its sixty-fourth year. Its purpose was and is to secure to everyone the legal right to a weekly rest day, with the privilege of worship.



CORSTLAND PARKER HOME STEAD AT BROAD AND EIGHTH STREETS, NEWARK, N. J.

White Servitude in New York and New Jersey

By WILLIAM STUART, M. A., OF EUREKA, UTAH



STUDY of the social conditions of a people is never complete without a study of the labor problem. In colonial times this question resolves itself into a study of slavery and of white servitude. In order to understand the question of white servitude in America from the time of the first colonization to the time of the Revolution, it is necessary to know something of the labor conditions of England during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, of the impossibility of the poor's being able to lift themselves out of their condition, and of the attempts to remedy their unhappy situation.

It could be said in England as truly as in Palestine, "The poor ye have always with you," but labor conditions in England during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries increased the number of the needy. In the first place, grain-growing gave place to sheep-raising, for labor was scarce, wages were high, and sheep-raising became the more profitable of the two. The plague of 1348 and the peasants' revolt of 1381 had combined to bring this about. During the plague of 1348, approximately one-third of the entire population died from the dread disease, and the poor, as is usual in such cases, suffered the greater loss. There was left not a sufficient number of laborers to supply the demand. The natural result was a rise in the price of labor. Notwithstanding the edicts of Edward III. that no man should ask for higher wages, and notwithstanding Parliament's ratification of those decrees, the anxious land owners offered more wages for laborers rather than let their crops go to waste. Furthermore, the peasants' revolt of about thirty years later had a like result. The struggle was against the system of villenage, which gradually became extinct, and the payment of money for service became very common. The outcome was a period of great prosperity for the laboring people, since both the plague and the peasants' revolt had caused an increase in the wages of the

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laborers, while at the same time food remained cheap and plentiful. That was not to continue, however, since it decreased the profit of the landlord. He turned to sheep-raising, since it required a smaller number of men to carry it on than did the cultivation of the ground. Another cause which contributed to the change of industries was a growth in the demand for wool. Throughout the fifteenth century we find this industrial change going on. As the business grew, it required more land, and that which formerly had been leased to the poor man now was no longer open to him. Sheep occupied it. During the sixteenth century enclosures increased so that there was neither room nor work for the poor man nor for his family.

In the second place, as a result of this change in the system of farming, more people became indigent because they had to leave the land, they had no home ties, and they had no work. Since they wanted the land for their sheep, the land owners forced the laborers from the land in several ways:—they refused to renew the lease, they piled up the fines and the rents on the copy holder until he could not meet his obligations, and they enclosed the commons by fraud. In some instances villages were torn down and churches were used to house sheep. So these people lost their old homes where their ancestors had lived for generations. Then they did not care where they lived, and, having no regular occupation, they became paupers. Even the small farmers also were ruined. The number of England's poor increased and grew thus in appalling numbers. These changes in the labor conditions which increased the number of the poor, left them with no chance to lift themselves out of this class, for the laws regulated their wages, bound them as apprentices under certain regulations, and fixed their parochial settlement.

In 1563 Parliament passed a law giving justices the power to fix the wages for laborers; the only restrictions were that the officers should keep in mind the price of provisions. They were not of the laboring class, however, and they never favored the laborers. In 1564 wages were seven pence for summer and six pence for winter for agricultural laborers, and nine pence for summer and eight pence in winter for artisans. In 1610 the wages for these workmen were the same except for a possible increase of two pence on the daily wage of the artisans. In 1634, wages were slightly increased—the farm laborers received eight pence in summer and seven pence in

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winter, and the artisan from one shilling to eight pence in summer and from eleven pence to seven pence in winter. In addition, in order that the wages fixed by the justices might not be surpassed, the person paying more was subject to a heavy fine. In one parish this fine was £5. Wages declined until a man received about one-fourth of what his grandfather had received for a day's work.

The laws did not stop with the regulation of labor and wages, but they also regulated the apprentice system so that it acted as a restraint to labor. Only those who had served a seven years apprenticeship in the arts and the crafts could become a journeyman. But how were the poor to become apprentices when the money necessary for the articles was wanting? Formerly, under the guild system there was a fund for the apprenticing of the sons of poor men, but that time had passed. So it seemed that this law turned a very large class of laborers back to the farms and left that field open to whomsoever came. This was an apparent kindness, only; for we must remember that the judges, who fixed the wages, were favorable to their own class,—the land-owners. Starvation prices prevailed, therefore, and, in addition to the law, extended the apprenticeship system to the farms. There, too, the boys must serve until they were twenty-one.

In the act of 1592 the laws went still further; they fixed the parochial settlement of the laborers, and that every laborer's cottage should have four acres of land attached. This gave the laborers the right to be quartered on the land-owners in compensation for the entail of estates and the amassing of land. In 1662 an act was passed which gave church officials and overseers the power to secure the return of any person living in a house of less than £10 annual value to the parish from which he came. Then during the reign of William and Mary, in 1697, another act interprets the one of 1662 as binding the people to their place of settlement. That may be where there is no work, while in the neighboring parishes work may be abundant and manufacturers may be crying for laborers. The result of these regulations was that the land-owners destroyed their cottages whenever they could, and got their labor needed from neighboring parishes. They regulated the wages paid their laborers through their quarter session rates, and left the home parish to make up the amount to keep the laborers alive. This law of settlement tied the poor man to the soil, made it possible for the land-



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owners to decrease the wages of their servants by putting the burden on a neighboring parish, and broke down the health of the laborers by the extra exertion necessary to get to their work. It was a question of living, not of becoming well-to-do.

Although labor conditions increased the number of the poor and they had no opportunity to lift themselves out of this class, there were attempts to remedy these conditions. The poor laws were for that purpose, according to their preambles, which explicitly states that they are for the good of the poor. They worked the other way, however, for the executive powers did not carry them out in a just and equitable manner. Sir George Peckham suggested another remedy, the transportation of the apprentices to the colonies to build up settlements. He expressed his views thus: "There are at this day great numbers . . . which live in such penurie and want, as they could be contented to hazard their lives, and to serve one year for meat and drink and apparel only, without wage in hope thereby to amend their estates." The government adopted this scheme partially; that is, they sent their poor as apprentices to the colonies, they sent their captives, and they sent their convicts, that they might be relieved of their support. And indeed Peckham was right about the poor's being willing to hazard the present for the hope in the future. They were willing to sell their time for the opportunity of bettering their condition later. They bargained directly with reputable companies, they came under contract with the people they knew, and they were the easy prey of "crimpers." Now it seems that these conditions in England not only show why people could be sent to America in this way, but they also show that white servitude in the colonies was a transplanting of the apprentice system to the American colonies with an extension to suit the conditions and supply the demands.

Having considered the European background of white servitude, let us turn to a study of that system in the colonies of New York and New Jersey. What were the colonial conditions which made this sort of bondage possible in the colonies, what do we know about the people who became bond servants, what were the laws which governed them, and what were the effects of this system on these two colonies? are questions which it may be well to answer but which it is difficult to do fully.

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We, who have come to maturity, know something of the allurements of a new country; there can be found wealth and, after that, all that wealth can buy. The allurements of the New World was like it, and yet it was different. It was wholly new, boundless acres of productive lands peopled by a race which need not be considered. Commercially-minded Holland saw its possibilities; the result was that she held her portion for gain, her plan of settlement included master and servant, and she attempted to supply the demand for cheap labor.

Holland, as it has been stated, held her colony for gain. The purpose back of the project to settle the New Netherlands, which at that time included New Jersey as well as New York, was absolutely commercial. It was set on foot in the hope of increasing the resources of Holland in order that she might more successfully cope with Spain, her longtime enemy. As early as 1614, merchants of Holland petitioned for exclusive rights to trade in the new land. The numerous rules and regulations concerning trade with the Indians, which form so large a part of the legislation for the colonies, also show the moving idea to be a commercial one. Had it been religious or political, Amsterdam would not have been jealous of the colonies. Moved by this spirit, the West India Company at first engaged in trade only, but it soon became apparent that to get the most out of the land, it was necessary to develop its resources.

In order to develop the resources of their possessions, the company saw that colonization was necessary: so they offered to men inducements to form colonies. The men who had the means, however, did not wish to undergo the hardships, and the men who were willing to endure the privations and the dangers of pioneer life had not the wherewithal to bring them over. Therefore we find the plan of settlement included master and men, and goes under the name of the Patroon System. The company granted very large tracts of land to the Patroons on condition that in four years they would settle "fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old." These grants were to extend sixteen miles along one bank or eight miles along each bank of a water way, and back as far as desired. The Patroons, on their part, promised to furnish the farmers with houses, barns, cattle, horses, and tools. In return they were to receive rents to the value of one-third or one-half the produce and one-half the increase in the live stock. The farmers were to bind themselves to



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stay on the land for a period of ten years and develop its resources. Furthermore, they were to grind their grain at the Patroon's mill, offer their spare produce at his market, and hunt or fish only by his permission. If the farmer died without making his will, his property went to the Patroon. Certain of these manors and their peasants continued in New York to the time of the Revolution. On the whole, however, this was a species of serfdom which the farmers in Holland, where the serf had not existed for three centuries and where comfort and thrift at that time were general, did not appreciate. The consequence was that, in order to get settlers, the West India Company adopted a more liberal policy in 1638. This time they offered farmers tracts of land of reasonable size equipped as above indicated, for a yearly rent of eighty pounds of butter and of money equal to about \$200 at the present time. The settler was to restore the original number of live stock to the company, keeping the increase for his share. These laws applied both to New Jersey and to New York.

When the English took possession, they ratified the holding of the land as it then existed under the Patroon system. In New York there was nothing to indicate new offerings of land, but in New Jersey, to those arriving before January 1, 1665, and meeting the governor at the rendezvous, "armed with a good musket, bore twelve bullets to the pound, with ten pounds of powder, with twenty pounds of bullets, and with six months provision for his own person arriving there, 150 acres of land English measure; and for every able servant, that he shall carry with him, arm'd and provisioned as aforesaid, and arriving there, the like quantity of 150 acres English measure: and for every weaker servant, or slave, male or female, exceeding the age of fourteen years, which any one shall send or carry, arriving there, 75 acres of land." In addition, to every master or mistress that should go before January 1, 1665, 120 acres of land, and for every able man servant sent, arm'd as above, 120 acres, and for every weaker servant over fourteen years, 60 acres were promised; to every free man or woman arriving in 1665, 90 acres, and for every able man servant sent, 90 acres, and for every weaker servant over fourteen years, 45 acres were promised; to every free man arriving in 1666, 70 acres, for every able man servant sent, 70 acres, and for every weaker servant 30 acres were promised.

Yet even settlers were not sufficient; if men came at all, they must

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come in companies. No man wants to be alone, he needs others for protection. In numbers there was some security from the Indians, and then on that virgin soil everything was to be done. The ground was to be cleared and to be cultivated, forts were to be erected, houses and barns were to be built, mills were to be established, and roads were to be made. It is no wonder that Michaelius wrote in 1628, "We need nothing so much as horses and cows, and industrious workers for the building of houses and fortresses who later on could be employed in farming, in order that we may produce sufficient dairy products and crops." Over and over again, we find the plea, "send only the strong, for when these die we do not inhabit heavy burdens." Indeed, the West India Company very wisely agreed to send servants, but they could not send sufficient numbers. In a letter under date of May 8, 1657, is the following: "Regarding people sent hither I think it would be wise that the most or greater portion of those forwarded should be males, inasmuch as strong and working people are, in the first instance, the most serviceable in these parts." And as late as 1658, having received bond servants from the almshouses, they write, "Please to continue sending others from time to time." It is useless to multiply instances, for it is clear that the colonists felt the need of laborers. Since it appears that the proprietors held the colonies for gain, that the plan of settlement included master and servant, and that the demand for cheap labor called for some such scheme, it is evident that colonial conditions made white servitude possible.

In addition to finding some of the conditions which made white servitude possible, this investigation reveals some interesting things about the white servants themselves. The source of the supply was threefold, they were divided into classes according to the nature of their contracts, and certain peculiarities of the different individuals appear. These servants came from different sources. Some were from Holland, others from England, others from the colonies themselves, while still others came from the Palatinate in Germany.

Those who came from Holland were free willers, paupers, and prisoners. The free willers came. The Patroons agreed to furnish their farmers with a sufficient number of servants to help do the labor of the farms. That they found it very difficult to furnish these servants is quite evident, but in 1630 they sent

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over to their estates farm servants; and which they probably continued to do. These servants, it seems, came of their own accord, but, being unable to pay their own passage, they came under contract to work it out during a certain period of service. Not only free willers came, but the poor also. By the poor, here is meant those who were so poor that they had no choice; volition was not theirs to exercise. Under date of 9th July, 1654, the Burgomasters of Amsterdam wrote to Director General Peter Stuyvesant that as their almshouses were overcrowded, "we have concluded to relieve them and so do the Company a service, by sending some of them to New Netherland." "We have therefore sent over in the ship belonging to the bearer hereof, 7 and 28 boys and girls requesting you, in a friendly manner, to extend to them your kind advice and assistance, and to advance them if possible; so that they, according to their fitness, may earn their board." In 1658, other children from the almshouses in Amsterdam came to the almshouses of New Amsterdam. The oldest were to be bound out for two years, the greater number for three years, and the youngest ones for four years. After the arrival of these children, the colonists asked that still others might be sent. This probably continued during the Dutch control. In addition to the free willers and the paupers, prisoners came. In the collection of New York documents are passages showing that the authorities made provisions for sending over "persons bound to serve, who shall be obliged to serve their bounden time." The editor explained that this refers to such persons as were in prison for crime, or were indigents.

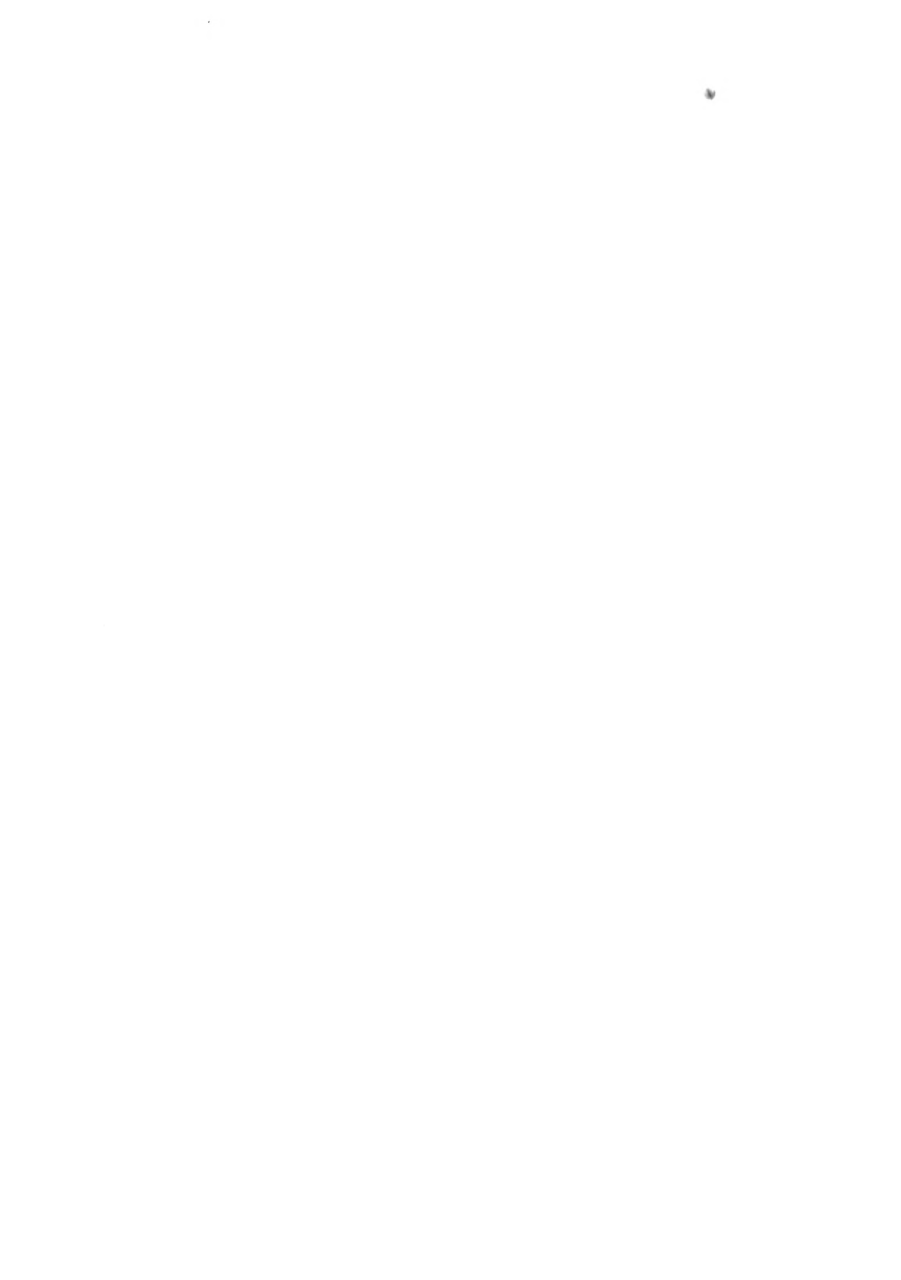
Those who came from England were convicts, prisoners of war, free willers, crimps, and apprentices. As early as 1611, Governor Dale urged the king to banish to Virginia all condemned persons so as to furnish much needed laborers. In 1617, prisoners from Oxford jail were sent to the colonies, and in 1619 some young people who had already suffered previous punishments were transported to Virginia. In 1693, the Committee of Trade for New York petitioned the authorities to send to New York all prisoners who were to be transported from Newgate. That some of these prisoners came to New York is altogether probable, for in the 4th of George II. we find that "convicts are frequently imported into this province," New Jersey. They came in such numbers that the colony considered them an injury and took action against such practices

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by passing a law fixing an import duty of £5 on each person, and demanding a security of £50 for their good behavior. In addition to these, prisoners of war also came as servants. After the conquest of Ireland and Scotland, Cromwell and William of Orange sent soldiers and political prisoners to the colonies. That these prisoners were sent to the different colonies, we know by the laws and the newspaper advertisements of the times. The colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts passed, or tried to pass, laws against the importation of such persons. Although the writer has been unable to find anything about them in New York, the newspaper advertisements of New Jersey show that Scotch and Irish servants, believed to be transported soldiers, were numerous.

Of those coming from England, there are yet the free willers and the apprentices, and probably the crimps. The free willers came because they wanted to, thinking, no doubt, that when their term of service expired they would have better opportunities to advance their own interests than under any other condition. The free willer could become a land owner, which served to make him forget the possible hardships of a term of apprenticeship. The apprentice entered into a contract in England of his own pleasure or by the wishes of his parents or guardian. Then, too, there came from Scotland wealthy Scotch emigrants who brought with them their servants and dependents. The crimp either was enticed by alluring advertisements and deceptive promises to agree to come, or he was sent against his will by some one interested in his disappearance, or he was kidnapped and shipped for money. It is difficult to distinguish between these classes, for the ship's master wished to get a good price for his men, and, though he evaded the law, he did not intend to be caught. That they sometimes passed convicts for free willers, the New Jersey law, requiring a duty on and security for the good behavior of the convict, shows. The latter part says that if any such imported person should prove to be a convict, the importer should pay the duty and should give the security. The New Jersey advertisements frequently speak of servants as having been imported lately, and all persons whose residence was unknown were supposed to be imported servants, their word to the contrary notwithstanding.

In addition to the servants from Holland and England, there were large numbers from the colonies themselves. Of these the larger



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part were apprentices and free willers from the colony in which they were serving. This, one will easily perceive, if he will read some New York indentures or turn through New Jersey advertisements. The government urged New York to establish workhouses for the employment of the poor and indigent people. The church wardens and overseers then bound the children out until they became of age. In New Jersey the laws required the overseers to put to service all children whose parents or other relatives were unable to maintain them, and at fourteen years or sooner to bind out such children as apprentices. In New Jersey, also, it was lawful to assign to those against whom the crime was committed insolvent persons guilty of larceny not above £5. If such prisoner refused to go out as a bond servant, he was continued in prison on bread and water at his own expense until he paid his debt, by such service or by money. So it appears that although the colonies were dependent in the beginning on the mother countries for their supply of white servants, in later years a large percentage were native born.

These servants, coming from Holland, from Great Britain, and from the colonies, fall into four classes on the basis of their articles of service. In general the indentures were alike in that they designated the time of service, kind of service, and compensation for the service. In details, however, they varied in the different classes. The convicts who could not pay their passage were indentured for a term of seven years, and because of the long term of service, the colonies frequently preferred them. The judges in England fixed the length of time during which a transported person had to serve in America, so the colonists were sure of their service for seven years. The redemptioners were those who entered into contracts with the ship's master to come to the colonies and serve a definite time for the payment of their passage. Their contracts were for five years. As to the terms of indenture, the difference between a convict and a redemptioner was in the length of time of service. Still another class were the free willers. They came to the colonies with the understanding that they were to have a certain number of days in which to make contracts with the colonists. If they failed to make terms, however, within the specified time, the captain of the ship in which they came made terms for them for apparel and provisions, and received pay for their passage. This system left the

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free willer at the mercy of the captains and the masters, because they were not protected by the laws of the home country. The master and the captain each wanted to make the best bargain possible, so the terms of the indenture depended on how this struggle came out. It is probable that the term of service often was seven years, and convicts were often palmed off as free willers.

Others served as apprentices. They might have come from abroad or they might have been native born. They were usually between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one. Sometimes, however, they were bound out as apprentices as young as five years. In a report made by Governor Hunter, of New York, and covering the period from 1710 to 1714, among the Palatine children apprenticed, seventy-four ranged in age from three to fifteen years, but the greater number were from twelve to fourteen years, while about forty of them were orphans. The common phrase applied to these younger children so indentured were "bound boy" and "bound girl." The indentures followed the usual form, with variations dependent upon the character of the master and the wealth of the guardian of the child. Sometimes the master received a sum paid by the guardian for taking the apprentice. In two instances the records show that the boys were to make recompense after their term of service had expired. Sometimes the parent even clothed the child. Usually, however, the articles designate the nature of the support furnished by the master as "meat, drink, and bedding and all other necessities meet and convenient for an apprentice," or "washing, meat and drink suitable," or "washing and lodging."

Frequently, as New York indentures show, there were peculiar entries as to the nature of the service to be rendered—"our secrets keep," "well and faithfully serve," or perhaps, "cheerfully obey all commands." Sometimes there is no evidence of care for the child; again, someone has tried to secure for him the best of advantages. On the one hand he was wholly abandoned to "go beyond seas or elsewhere;" on the other hand, some lover stipulated that he should not leave the State. Besides teaching the child his trade of hatter or cooper or shoemaker, the master often promised to teach him to read and write or to send him to school in the evenings, or half the winter. And, in addition to the provision of the law that no servant should go empty away, the thoughtful friend sometimes provided that the apprentice should have some special

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recompense, as "the books and instruments necessary for the art of navigation," or "to make him a free man of the city according to law."

The various laws and newspaper extracts show certain peculiarities of these servants who came from these three countries and served under these four kinds of indentures. Most of them were young, their dress was a strange medley, their trades ran the whole scale of occupations, and their characters were as full of frailties and as perfect as mortals usually are. The most of them were young. The general demand was for young people, because they were directed more easily and their term of service was longer. In West Jersey, servants who came without indentures and were under twenty-one years of age were to serve as long as the court should decide proper. In truth they, the colonists, wanted their servants neither too old nor too young. Letters to the Dutch officials asked for persons of fifteen years of age or over. That this demand controlled the supply, newspaper extracts show. In New Jersey, the servants who got their names in the "Who's Who column," i. e., advertisements for fugitives, were generally young, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five or six. One man was forty years of age, another was fifty-six, while still another was "pretty elderly."

Young or old, their dress was as varied as could be imagined, and frequently was a mark of the past estate of the wearer. John Medley was arrayed in a "Kearsey pea-jacket of a light color and Leather Buttons, an Ozanburg Shirt, a new Felt Hat, a Tickin pair of Breeches, Check Trowsers, Brown Stockings, and one square and one round Buckle in his Shoes." Another, a clockmaker, wore a fustian coat with white metal buttons, cotton striped jacket with thread buttons, yarn stockings, Ozenbrig breeches, a beaver hat and a leather apron. An Irish lad, eighteen and a half years old, had on a worn light Duroy coat, grey homespun jacket, tard cloth breeches, and he took with him two homespun coats and a jacket with silver buttons above the waist and brass below. Many of the garments indicated the condition of these persons in former times. Some had silver buckles and silver buttons, others had fine pleated shirts, fashionable clothes, and wigs, some light and some dark. There were round-toed and square-toed shoes, wooden heeled and leather heeled; Duroy breeches with white silk puffs, and Scotch

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bonnets. A Palatinate who had served in the armies of France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Turkey, England and Scotland, had as extensive a wardrobe. There was not a superabundance of clothes, though, as bare feet and legs bore witness.

Turning from this incongruous dress to the occupations of these servants, we find almost all of the trades of that time included. There were barbers, and watchmakers, cloth weavers and stocking weavers, the English gardener and the Welsh potter, the almost blind blacksmith and the lusty English tailor. Then there were the pockbroken house carpenter, and the black complectioned butcher, the Jersey girl who used her needle well, and another who sewed and knit. There was the man who pretended to be a staymaker, and there was the Irishman who pretended to be a weaver. There were the English shoemaker, "a midling good workman," and the man who knew all about husbandry, and the shipbuilder, and the glassmaker, and many others who helped to do the work of those early days. At about the same time, April 13, 1657, the Dutch complained that none of those sent over as servants were able to make anything suitable, and we smile at the familiar sound. An Irish pedlar from New York, however, was so able that ten pounds reward was offered for his return.

The characters of these servants were as varied as were their dress and occupations. The reasons for their coming, the laws enacted, the advertisements for fugitives, and the court proceedings, show that some were good and some were bad. Coming as they did, convicts, free willers, kidnapped, and paupers, they probably were of all degrees of virtue. As a basis for good moral character the law required the inhabitants to instruct their servants in religion and the laws of the land. If such persons should refuse to heed the teachings of their masters, they were subject to punishment, even to the extent of ten stripes if they were sixteen years of age. Some servants were frugal and careful. A German had served an indenture of several years and had gained his freedom. Then he came to his former master with a good sized bag of gold. When questioned as to why he had come as a redemptioner, he answered, "Oh, I did not know English and I should have been cheated. Now I know all about the country and I can set up for myself." Such as he were not idlers. On the other hand, we have quite different pictures in the advertisements for fugitive servants. An



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Irish servant is advertised as having "a down look," and another Irishman is said to have "a fractious countenance." Perhaps the looks did not belie the man in either case. An escaped serving man is described thus, "He is so prodigious a lyer that if observed, he may easily be discovered by it." Advertisements for runaway servants in New Jersey show that the earlier reports gave the servants as taking a few clothes, often only those that they had on; later reports gave them as taking horses, and carrying away other things that belonged to their masters. Mary Tilson, who fled from Virginia with "other thieves" and came to New Netherlands, had stolen goods from her master to the value of one hundred fifty florins. They may have argued that they had earned it, but they knew that the law deemed it a crime. From this data one may conclude that many of the servants were of a wandering disposition, irresponsible and careless, while as many or more were sober and industrious. Yet, the fugitive servants, no doubt, were not of the best class and had undesirable masters and surroundings. The more earnest and the wiser ones knew that the effort to escape was futile, and that the easiest way out was to serve their time. This is, therefore, insufficient data because it gives a onesided picture.

Another phase of the subject is the laws regulating white servitude in the two colonies. The legal status of the servants may be shown under three groups of relations. Some laws applied directly to the government of the servants, other laws gave the servants protection, while still others defined the responsibility of the masters for the servants. The laws governing servants deal with them in relation to their masters—to the land system, to the government, to the right of marriage, to crimes and punishments, and to pleasures or amusements.

The Dutch West India Company guaranteed the Patroons their right to the labor of their servants, and promised to try to return runaways. This same provision appeared in the regulations of 1610. The settlers of New Netherlands did not think of servitude as debasing; a parent let out his children and transferred his parental rights to the master. If the master mistreated the child, the parent had a right to appeal to the courts, but the child's time and service belonged to his master. He should work the whole day, taking only such rest and time for food as his master should deem convenient. For the time specified, he belonged to his master.

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The white servant, also, bore close relation to the land. In the settlement of New Jersey and New York, as we have seen, the number of acres a man had, depended largely upon the number of servants he brought with him. The English continued this law, and later under a New Jersey article, the servant, after his term of service was over, was to have seventy-five acres, fifty acres, or twenty acres, according to the time of his coming to the colony and as to whether he was an adult or younger.

There were laws also regulating the servant in his relation to the government and to the right of marriage. His relation to the government appears in the regulation regarding the militia. The laws of New Jersey excluded bought white servants from serving in the militia, but they provided that apprentices between the ages of sixteen and fifty should serve. Their masters were to furnish arms and ammunition, if they were able; if they were not, the government was to lend these necessary articles. This law further provided fines for failure to report for duty, from which the law excused the master if he had not the means to pay. The laws of the Duke of York, also, provided that servants and apprentices should serve in the militia and that their masters should bear the expense of arming them. That New York would have been glad to use convicts in her militia, we are sure, for in a communication of June 12, 1693, she asked the authorities of Newgate to send what convicts were to be transported to recruit her militia. Again, in 1739, by excluding Indians and negro slaves unless it were "to be Drummers, Trumpeters, or Pioneers," the law included white servants among those who might enlist. The regulations concerning the marriage of a servant are somewhat indefinite. Governor Andros reported that he could not be exact as to the number married. Later the laws demanded the consent of the master before a servant could marry. To make the law binding, a fine of £20 and expulsion from office was attached. The laws of New Jersey were similar. There the servant could not marry without the consent of the master and an approved minister; a justice or some chief officer must perform the ceremony, after the publishing of the banns three separate times at public meetings. The punishment for an official's disobedience was £20 and dismissal from office.

In addition, the colonists found it necessary to enact laws defining crimes and fixing punishments for white servants. The laws of

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New Jersey and New York were alike in fixing a penalty of extension of service on all apprentices and servants who absented themselves from their masters. Usually they were to serve beyond their term of service double the time of their absence, and to make satisfaction for the expense and the trouble of the masters due to their absence. Persons aiding servants or apprentices to escape were liable to a fine of from ten to twenty-five pounds and to the cost incurred in capturing them. Justices of the peace had authority to raise the hue and cry after servants, and officers might press men and boats into service to pursue them by land or sea. A fine was the penalty for knowingly entertaining or aiding a runaway servant. To make it possible for servants to travel any distance, passes were necessary. Sometimes these passes had to show the seal of a magistrate, again a mere note from the master was sufficient. Servants who ran away and servants who were rude and disorderly, might be sent to the house of correction and, especially in the latter case, they might be subject to no more than thirty-nine lashes. Justices had the same power over apprentices as had the justices of England. The New Jersey Archives show that officers were not overcareful about unnecessary suffering of the criminal in administering punishment, for the frost nipped the fingers and the ears of an Irishman exposed in the pillory.

Furthermore, there were restrictive laws regulating the pleasures and the business matters of the servants, as well as other acts. The servant was not to loiter in public places, but to be at home early. So, if one permitted apprentices or servants to remain at his place of business after eight or nine o'clock at night, he was liable to a fine of £5. The justices of New Amsterdam fined two masters because their servants ran races on Sunday. They also demanded that the masters watch the servants carefully in order that such offences be not repeated. Not only were the servants not permitted to enjoy the pleasures of freedom, but they also were not to enter the commercial field in competition with the merchants or the traders of New York. If they were guilty of giving away or selling any commodity, they might receive corporal punishment. Time to sleep and time to eat were theirs only as the gift of their masters. All workmen and all servants were to work in their calling the whole day.

Not only were there laws regulating the conduct of the servants,

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but there were laws protecting the servants. Special laws gave the servants particular rights. Servants had a right to complain to the constable or the overseer of any mistreatment, and the officer was to protect the servant until the court should have decided the case. If a master destroyed the eye or maimed a servant, the latter went free and the court had the power to declare damages against the master. If the servant, however, were unable to prove that he had just cause for complaint, the judge might extend his term of service three months. Whether because these laws were not justly carried out or whether on account of the youth's inability to appreciate the situation, we do know that the New Jersey Archives report one boy, whose master had threatened with punishment and whose mother had recommended that he appeal to the authorities, as drowning himself. Again, servants might not be buried in New York without the presence of three or four of the neighbors and the public overseer to view the corpse. Neither was he to be buried anywhere except in a public place designated by law as the burying ground. This was to prevent scandal about the master, or the possible murder of the servant. Furthermore, laws protected servants from liquor sellers. The New Jersey laws provided that any person guilty of selling liquor to servants was liable to a fine of seventy shillings. The laws of New York, however, provided that servants and apprentices might receive liquor if their masters consented.

In addition to the laws governing servants and protecting them, there were laws holding the masters responsible for the misdeeds of their servants. In the case of the abovementioned race, the two masters had to pay three guilders each for the escapade of their servants. Peter Colet had to pay a fine of fifteen guilders because his servant boy had injured another person. The master, also, was responsible for certain religious and moral instruction of their servants.

The laws also demanded that the masters give the servants some certain provisions and supplies at the end of their term of indenture. Sometimes this gift consisted of "ten bushels of corn, necessary apparel, two horses, and an ax." Besides the ordinary gifts, we have seen that one indenture specified that the master should give the apprentice "the books and the instruments needed in the art of navigation." In another, the master was to make the ser-

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vant a free man of the city. The laws of New Jersey stated that the servant should receive two suits, one good falling ax, a good hoe, and seven bushels of good Indian corn, while the laws of New York said no servant should be sent empty away. The laws seem to govern the servant more carefully than they protect him.

Now that we have considered white servitude as to its cause, the character of the individual servants, and the laws regulating it, we may ask, what was the effect of white servitude in New York and New Jersey? Did it furnish the required labor? The answer is, no; it did not furnish enough of it, nor did it furnish the kinds required. There was not the skilled labor needed. One statement says that servant men were as "precious as gold both in regard to our work and our protection." Because the supply of servants was not equal to the demands, the colonists were obliged to use negroes, thus making slave labor, on account of its need and cheapness, an institution in the colonies. In spite of the inducements offered, Governor Moore wrote that labor was so high that it would always prove a hindrance to manufacturing. Was it satisfactory to master or to servant? The servants showed that it was not satisfactory from their standpoint by running away, and the masters expressed their dissatisfaction in their laws, in their advertisements, and in their comments. In 1648, New Netherlands passed laws to force servants to work, and Governor Moore reported that the "Master of a Glass-house, which was set up here a few years ago, now a Bankrupt, assured me that his ruin was owing to no other cause than being deserted in this manner by his servants, which he had Imported at a great expense; and that many others had suffered and been reduced as he was, by the same kind of Misfortune." What became of the released servants? The advertisements for fugitives indicate that some of them contracted indentures for another period. Many of the "boerc-knechts" (Dutch, servants) entered the fur trade, much to the detriment of the development of the colony. It is probable that many of the more restless characters returned to the mother country or wandered into some of the other colonies. According to Governor Moore the land-hunger of the people was as strong then as now, and many must have settled on the plot which the government gave them. What per cent. of these servants became intelligent and helpful citizens and what per cent. were worthless, we

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cannot tell, but we have the record which shows that John Peter Zangerin made good. We can find now only partial answers to these questions. Yet judging from the number so employed and from the absence of an overlarge pauper class, one infers that many of them made good use of the lessons of thrift and industry, and became a part of the bone and brawn of the commonwealth in which they had served as bound servants or as apprentices.

In conclusion then, white servitude in the colonies was a part of the great labor question. It grew out of the previous experiences in Holland and England, and took its peculiar form on account of the colonial conditions. Nor has the problem entirely disappeared. Although it may differ somewhat in appearance, we find it in the system of child labor carried on in the sulphur mines of Campo Franco, Sicily, in the system of peonage present in some parts of our own country, and in the migration of people from the regions of low wages and little work to the regions of high wages and much work. The present-day problem involves the emigration of the young energetic laboring class so as to leave labor at home in a healthier condition, the establishment of joint stock companies in which the workmen have interests, the employment of the index number to maintain the proper adjustment and equalization to the variation in the cost of living, and the industrial schools maintained by great corporations and polytechnic institutions which are attempting to fill the place of the abandoned apprentice system.

As this paper is brought to a close, the labor problem is one of the great questions of the world. M. Clemenceau, in his opening address at the Conference at Versailles, named "international legislation in regard to labor" as one of the three great questions to be settled by the Conference. And the Commission on International Labor Legislation, one of the commissions of the Peace Conference, hoped to arrange for a "Labor Parliament" to meet under the auspices of the League of Nations to adjust international labor problems. So white servitude in the colonies of New York and New Jersey is but a short chapter in the general history of labor from the time "when Adam delved and Eve span."

Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia

BY ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON EATON, M. A., D. C. L.

No. XVI

THE GREAT TRAGEDY OF 1917

"I most deeply regret to hear of the serious explosion at Halifax, resulting in great loss of life and property. Please convey to the people of Halifax, where I have spent so many happy times, my true sympathy in this grievous calamity."

KING GEORGE OF ENGLAND TO LIEUT.-GOVERNOR GRANT.



W HILE wide districts of France and Belgium were being devastated by the invading hosts of the Kaiser, and bombs were falling, though with comparatively little effect, upon London as upon Venice and Padua, in the great World War, Halifax was the scene of a calamity hardly less dreadful than that which had fallen on Ypres and Rheims. Shortly before Tuesday, December 6th, 1917, among the many ships that throughout the fateful period of the war stole silently into and out of Halifax Harbour, was one whose mission was alleviation of the miseries of war, not the aggravation of war miseries. This was the Belgian relief ship *Imo*, whose immediate destination was a neighbouring United States port, whither she was bound to take in supplies for the sufferers in that brave European country whose heroic action at the outset of the war had foiled the ruthless ambition of the Germans, and under Divine Providence had saved the world from conquest to their unscrupulous autocratic power.

In the early morning of the 6th, this relief ship, without any cargo, was moving from her anchorage in Bedford Basin towards the narrow passage that connects that sheltered water with the harbour below. She was in charge of an experienced pilot, and was moving at a moderate rate of speed. At the same time, coming up the harbour towards the narrows, was a French munitions ship, the *Mont Blanc*, which had left New York on December 1st, loaded with high explosives, making Halifax her final port of call before sailing for

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France. Sighting each other when about a mile apart, the two ships held steadily on their respective courses, up and down the harbour. As they approached each other, they gave what the officers of the French ship and the few survivors of the crew of the Belgian ship all testified in the formal investigation that was soon held to determine the causes of the explosion, were the proper signals to indicate the courses they were taking in respect to each other. Conflicting evidence given at this court of inquiry leaves the public in some doubt as to the relative measure of responsibility properly to be laid on the officers of each ship, but in some way there was disregard of the signals, and suddenly the *Imo*, going at what seems to have been an unreasonably high rate of speed, came into the *Mont Blanc's* water and rammed the French ship on the starboard side.¹ The *Mont Blanc's* cargo comprised a small stock of miscellaneous ammunition, with shells of various calibre, a deck-load of benzol, carefully protected in her hold probably as much as a thousand tons of "T. N. T.", a recently discovered deadly explosive, one of the most powerful destructive agents known to mankind, her outer hold containing a great store of picric acid. In spite of the fact that she bore such a dangerous cargo, however, the ship carried no red flag or other signal which would have advertised the nature of her load.

Almost immediately after the collision, flames began to burst from the *Mont Blanc's* side where she had been pierced by the *Imo's* stern, and as quickly as possible, knowing their peril, the munitions ship's crew manned the boats and pulled towards the Dartmouth shore, the last persons to leave the ship being the captain, Aimé Lemedec, and the pilot Mackey, who had been engaged to bring the ship in. Left

¹Unofficial statements as well as statements made under oath concerning the explosion have necessarily had some weight with the public. Dean Llyd, of All Saints' Cathedral, in a detailed interview very soon after the tragedy, said he had questioned some of the patients in the hospitals who had been on ships and boats in the harbour at the time of the explosion, and their testimony agreed "that until the two ships were within from one to two hundred yards of each other their relative movements were as they should have been, their respective positions were correct; but at that point the French munitions ship suddenly swerved to the left so as to lay herself right across the line of the Belgian relief ship, thus making it impossible for this ship to avoid colliding with her. Similar testimony was afterward given in my hearing by a young man who was on a small vessel in the harbour; he saw the collision, and his evidence placed the responsibility on the French ship. Before he and his men flung themselves to the deck of their craft, he had seen the explosion for a fraction of a second, and he testified that it seemed as if the French ship had burst asunder, showing a ragged furnace within. The force of the explosion was so terrible that he saw the Rope-Walk at Dartmouth apparently poised in the air before the building crashed in."

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to herself, the Mont Blanc, burning, began to drift towards Halifax, and twenty minutes after the fire first appeared, at between 9.05 and 9.06 o'clock, the dreadful cargo of the death-dealing munitions ship exploded, and the whole population of Halifax and Dartmouth, not a man, woman, or child escaping at least severe shock, was visited with a calamity comparable only to that of a destructive earthquake or the sudden eruption of some terrible volcanic mountain in whose shadow defenceless towns and villages lay. On both sides of the harbour, for a distance of several miles north and south, houses were fiercely shaken, fissures made in their walls, doors wrenched violently from solid hinges, windows shattered so that showers of broken glass fell everywhere, outside and in, and mirrors and pictures and china on the walls hurled from the places that held them and piled into pitiful heaps of wreckage and ruin.

The district that suffered most in the explosion was that roughly bounded on the south by North street, on the north by Rockhead Hospital, and on the west by the well-known "Exhibition Grounds." Here was utter devastation, a devastation such as no other single stroke of the war anywhere produced. Within this area the great majority of living creatures were killed, either by the direct force of the explosion, or by flying timbers or shells or torn pieces of steel and iron, with which the air was suddenly filled. An official report issued in March, 1918, gave the number killed as 1,800, but all who escaped alive were more or less seriously injured, many being pitifully bruised and torn by the hail of debris, and many totally or partially blinded by broken glass. From beneath the ruins of what a moment before had been comfortable houses, or shops or factories, people with shattered and bleeding bodies, if they could get out at all, painfully dragged themselves, looking agonizingly for help which there was none to give. Through the streets surged terror-stricken men, women, and children, with blood streaming from their wounds, faces blackened by smoke and soot, and piteous cries of distress on their lips. Liberated from the stables where they had been standing, or the hitching-posts where they had been tied, horses ran madly about the district, dragging behind them the broken remains of the vehicles to which they had been harnessed. Simultaneously, a hundred fires blazed up, along the sidewalks sputtered and fused live electric wires dangling from poles broken in halves from the shock, while trees that in summer had given grateful shade to the

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streets, denuded of their leafless branches, stood stark and charred, mute witnesses to the explosion's fierce, destructive power. "It was Dante's Inferno done into actuality." Said one local report of the catastrophe:

"In the meantime every house and store and factory in the town had felt the shock and suffered from it. Even beyond the far distant Northwest Arm, and on the boundaries of Point Pleasant Park, houses were rocked and windows shattered by the force of the concussion or by the tremendous air-pressure which followed it. Virtually every plate-glass shop window in the city was smashed, and every street had its quota of cut and bleeding people. On the edges of the devastated zone, houses which were left standing were so badly shaken as to be rendered untenable; and everywhere the people who had been spared death were seen running about the streets in panic. At the Wellington Barracks, which were wrecked, many soldiers were killed. Later, fire broke out in close proximity to the magazine at the barracks, and, on account of the danger of a second explosion, a general warning was given. In consequence of this, the open spaces everywhere were quickly filled with people, many of them cut and otherwise injured. A great cloud of smoke which arose from the doomed ship as she exploded, was visible for half an hour above the devastated area and was later enlarged by the smoke which arose from the burning buildings: the air was full of soot and grit, which overlaid everything within the radius of the city. About an hour after the warning had been sent out of a possible second explosion, the fire at Wellington Barracks was brought under control, and a message was dispatched telling the panic-stricken people to return to their homes. In the meantime, rescue parties of soldiers and civilians had been organized, and the work of digging out any who might still be alive in the debris of the wrecked area was begun. The hospitals were filled with patients, and those who were the least seriously injured were compelled to wait until the graver cases had received attention. Temporary hospitals, also, were opened in any building sound enough to offer them a roof and four standing walls; every public building in the city became a shelter for homeless citizens and lost children."

The Anglican Cathedral of All Saints stands in the south-west part of the city, at least three miles from the scene of the explosion, and at the moment when the explosion occurred the Dean of the Cathedral was reading prayer. Said this clergyman:

"I was standing in the Chapel of the Cathedral reading morning prayer in accordance with the rules of our Church, when the explo-

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sion took place. The congregation was composed of three persons, my wife and two other ladies. I had just risen to my feet from saying the first prayers and was beginning the psalms, when I felt a powerful vibration like that of an earthquake. I said to myself at once: 'That is a German shell.' It flashed across my mind that a submarine must at last have crossed the Atlantic and bombarded Halifax. Two or three seconds passed. Suddenly there came an appalling roar. The building trembled. The glass began to fall in showers from the windows on the north side and at the two ends of the structure. The effect was frightful; the whole fabric seemed to be falling in upon us. A feeling of utter powerlessness, as if we were in the grip of some enormous force, possessed me. I dashed to the nearest door, my second thought being that a munitions factory was exploding. I guessed that the shock came from the north, because of the collapse of the north windows of the building, and of the north transept doors, which were of solid oak and would almost have withstood modern artillery. In the distance I saw a large cloud, yellowish gray, rising skywards. As it rose it took on the form of a huge baleful flower unfolding in the air. Realizing at once that my guess was correct, that the explosion was from some munitions source, I turned back to the ladies of the congregation and said to them, 'It is all over, it must have been a munitions explosion at some point north. We can go on with our service.' We did not, however, finish the service entirely, but closed it with two or three prayers.

"I then went home, and after a few minutes started down town. On the way, I met a member of my congregation, Mr. W. R. Hewat. He was greatly agitated. He said: 'You have no idea at all, here in the south end, of the disaster that has happened to the north end. I have just come on the train from Truro. We were compelled to alight at a point beyond Richmond. I felt the explosion, it lifted the train. After leaving the train, I walked right through the district and was an eye-witness of the frightful ruin which has been caused. Everywhere houses razed to the ground, buildings of considerable size mere heaps of bricks. Fire has started, and the wounded and dying are lying around in twos and threes.'

"I was so much impressed by what Mr. Hewat told me that I went down town with him and got into a motor car, which took me up to North Street Station. The glass in the station was all blown in, and the building itself had suffered a good deal of damage. I was anxious for the wounded and the dying, and so made my way through the fire and smoke to a point just about one-quarter mile beyond Richmond. I arrived there about 10 o'clock. The scene was horrifying in the extreme. The houses were mere heaps of boards, with here and there bits of furniture showing themselves. Virtually the whole of the area was in flames. I found a relief party

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of soldiers taking out the wounded, with a young Roman Catholic priest helping them. I joined the party, and assisted in lifting out a number of poor crushed and mangled forms, many of them of persons who must have died before they reached the hospital. They were being taken down to the shore line and placed upon tugs sent to convey them to one of the ships, which was already being used as a hospital. After that section had been thoroughly stripped of its wounded and dying, I went still further into the zone of devastation, and found a relief company of about twenty soldiers who were acting under command of a young officer. They had been busy taking up the wounded. The officer asked me what should be done. I suggested that the dead should be taken out of the ruins and laid side by side, in order that when the proper time came they might be identified. The soldiers went to work with vigor, and in a short time they had taken over thirty inanimate forms from the debris. Several living horses, also, were discovered and freed. One poor old man was found lying face downward by the side of his horse and shattered cart. People had been killed in almost every conceivable way, heads and shoulders blown off, skulls crushed, limbs torn away, and great gashes made in the sides. One striking freak of the explosion was the stripping of a man's body of its clothing, without leaving any mark of injury on the body itself—the poor fellow had been killed by shock. We worked until after 2 o'clock, when I took a sergeant down town with me to the City Hall and interviewed the city authorities as to the disposal of the bodies. They promptly appointed Chebucto Road Schoolhouse as a temporary mortuary, and sent with the sergeant a member of the city staff to make arrangements for the transfer of the dead to it as their resting place for a time.

"After this, I went home to eat a scrap of luncheon, and then took my way to the Camp Hill Hospital, where the wounded were brought in until every square yard of space seemed to be occupied. It was a heartrending scene. No one who beheld it could ever forget it, nor, on the other hand, could any eye-witness fail to render a tribute of high admiration to the doctors as they went to and fro upon the work of relief, and to the nurses and other young women who were already present in numbers trying to alleviate the sufferings of the patients."

To the horrors that were directly caused by the explosion were added the sufferings of people from cold and snow. The next day after the explosion found Halifax in the grip of a blizzard, which grew more and more violent as the day went on. Before night, automobile traffic was completely stalled, and news kept coming to the stricken city that relief trains bringing much needed supplies were delayed.

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During the day and night following the explosion, agonizing scenes were witnessed as people frantically searched the ruins at the city's north end for the bodies of their loved ones, husbands for wives, parents for children, and children for their parents. As soon as the newspapers could resume publication, lists of the dead began to be printed, and the whereabouts of missing people who were alive to be disclosed. The spirit of the people was very fine, even at the regular morgue, where many hundreds of the explosion's victims were carried, and where people who could not find their relatives elsewhere crowded to get possible ghastly light on the fate of those they held dear. The bodies at the morgue were divisible into three classes—those easily identifiable by reason of the fact that they were very little defaced and who had near relatives to identify them; those whose identification was more difficult because so many of their near relatives were killed that there were only comparative strangers to decide who they were; and those whom it was hard for even their nearest friends to identify, because of their mutilation or the ravages on them of the hideous flames. Pathetic, indeed, were the bodies, of which there were very many, of little children, some of whom had lost their lives in schools and at the Orphanage, some while they were taking their morning meal in their simple North End homes, some as they lay in their cradles, some as they toddled after their mothers as the latter went about their necessary household tasks.

Occasionally the mortuary was the scene of collapse resulting from shock to the nerves of seekers for the dead. One such case was that of a young, vigorous looking man, who having vainly sought his little sister elsewhere, hoping that she might still be alive and in the kind care of charitable friends, came late at night to the mortuary. "Alas for hope! There, not much defaced by the cruel bolt, but sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, the little girl lay, and without a sound the brother fell to the floor and for over an hour it was thought that the shock had been fatal to him, that his strong man's heart had stopped beating. Aid was summoned, however, and he was ultimately restored." To the morgue came, over and over, a heart-broken father searching for the body of one of his little boys. He had had five children, and three of them he knew were safe. One little boy had perished, and his body had been found, but the fate of this other he could not learn. Thinking that the missing child might

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have been carried with other refugees to Windsor, Truro, or New Glasgow, he visited each of these places in turn. At last the morgue disclosed the child's mutilated form. In some cases the mother and three or four children were killed, while the father was spared; in other cases, the father and one of several children were killed while the mother and the remaining children were spared; in some cases the parents and some of the children were killed while one or two children escaped; of some families of considerable size, not a single member survived. Wrote some one describing the effects of the tragedy :

"The saddest hours of the relief workers were spent in interviewing parents whose children could not be found. A detailed description was kept on the files of every child alive and unclaimed, and as each inquirer appeared the list was consulted. The faintest clue was followed to the end, full particulars were obtained from every town where refugees had been taken, concerning the children among the refugees, and inquiries were made along the various lines of railway. Over and over again, the missing child was reported to have 'been seen with a soldier,' or to have been 'carried away by a sailor,' or to have been 'put with other children in a cart,' and sometimes, but not always, such reports were found to be true. 'Where are their parents?' in a conspicuous headline queried the "Evening Mail" newspaper on the 7th of December, the day after the explosion. Underneath was printed: 'Two children, the whereabouts of whose parents is unknown, are at the Grafton Street Methodist Church hall—Alfred Tompson, of Stanley street, and Nellie Moore, of Barrington street. At 363, Robie street, is little Helen McGrath, who says her father is employed on the train. At Dr. McFatrige's, on Robie street, are three children who lived on Russell street.'"

Somewhere about noon of December 8th, a squad of soldiers of the 63rd Regiment who were searching for bodies among the ruins at Richmond, saw another uniformed soldier frantically digging in a cellar filled with smouldering debris. "Here was my home," said the man, "and I am sure I heard a moan a minute ago." The soldiers listened intently, and soon all heard distinctly the faint moan of a child. With desperate energy they turned to digging, and in a short time, under a stove, sheltered by the protruding ash-pan, they found the eighteen months old baby daughter of the man who had lived there, the child miraculously still alive. Her mouth was slightly cut and there was a bruise or scratch on her face, but when

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she was taken to a hospital she quickly revived. Searching further, the soldiers found the bodies of the man's wife and the remaining five children of his family, who had all probably been instantly killed.

One of the most interesting and touching things to be recorded in connection with the relief which in so many quarters was promptly tendered the Halifax sufferers, was the readiness shown all over the continent of America to adopt children who had been left orphans by the catastrophe. From New York and Washington, from Montreal and Vancouver, from Quebec and Charlottetown, and even from far-away New Mexico and Arizona, soon after the explosion, letters and telegrams began to pour in upon the relief commissioners from people who were anxious to adopt orphaned little ones. Today there are many widely scattered homes throughout the United States and Canada that are blessed by Halifax children whose parents and other near relatives who would naturally have cared for them, were all killed in the explosion.

When it was possible to make an accurate estimate of the total number of people killed in the explosion, an official report, as we have said, placed the number at 1,800; by January 1st those who had the cases in hand of people whose eyes had been injured, had the sad report to make that 41 had been totally or nearly totally blinded, while 85 had suffered the loss of one eye, the other remaining untouched. Of persons whose eyes had been less seriously injured, or the outcome of whose injuries could not then be foretold, the number was given at 205.

The complete destruction of buildings in the explosion, like the sorrowful destruction of life, was fortunately limited almost entirely to the North End. In the central portion of the town, the public buildings escaped with little damage, while the residences of the richer inhabitants, which in great part lay in the south and south-western portions, like the public buildings, for the most part suffered chiefly in the breaking of glass. But the North End, within the limits we have designated, had most of its buildings completely destroyed. In a moment, blocks and blocks of what had been comfortable homes, moderate-sized houses entirely suited to the people's needs, were tumbled to the earth, a mass of hideous wreckage and waste. In the district commonly known as Richmond, was then the chief railway passenger terminal of the city, and this building, with the freight sheds connected with it, was unroofed and otherwise in-

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jured, the tracks for a long distance being covered thick with debris. In the freight yards, five hundred loaded freight cars were standing, and these shared in the general ruin. The great piers at the south end of the city were too far removed from the scene of the explosion to suffer, but the dry-dock, which as a newspaper said had been "a great factor in the upbuilding of the port, and a wonderful aid in these days of shipping troubles," was in great measure destroyed.

For a time, railway transportation to and from the city was rendered difficult by the fact that hundreds of railway employees lived in the devastated region and had had their homes destroyed and their families either seriously injured or else killed. Of local railway men in active service, 58 were killed, and their fate was shared by fifteen others who were on the retired-pension list. Of living railway men, forty were more or less seriously wounded.

Throughout the North End were many churches of the various denominations of Christians, as well as the school buildings of both secular and parochial schools, and these were all either tumbled to the ground, or else, left standing, defaced and blackened and broken shells. A conspicuous schoolhouse on Kaye street that had sheltered the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's parochial school was one of the buildings that was wrecked completely but not thrown down. In this building forty children lost their lives. In the machine-shops of the dry-dock, at the moment of the explosion, 235 men were working, and of these workmen 120 were killed. By the destruction of North End houses, probably 20,000 people were left without homes.

The news of the disaster to Halifax was of course quickly telegraphed to the other cities and towns of Canada and to all the leading cities of the United States, and never in history was more prompt and generous response made to the needs of a suddenly afflicted people. By mayors of cities, by organizations of a social or philanthropic character, and by many persons in public and private life, magnificent offers of help were immediately made. From the Nova Scotia towns,—Windsor, Wolfville, Kentville, New Glasgow, Amherst, and Truro; and the New Brunswick towns St. John and Moncton, supplies were as quickly as possible put on trains and shipped to Halifax, and to most of these places considerable numbers of the blinded and otherwise wounded victims of the explosion were sent. On the very night of the disaster, a special train consist-

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ing of two sleepers, a buffet, and a baggage car, was rushed from Boston, carrying eleven physicians and surgeons from the Massachusetts State Guard, ten nurses, two quartermasters, and a delegation from the Red Cross. Throughout the Bay State metropolis there was little talked of for days but the unparalleled disaster that had come to a neighbour city. Almost immediately, influential relief committees were organized here, and at 9 o'clock on the morning of December 7th, a train carrying 102 expert Red Cross workers, including 25 Boston surgeons and 67 women nurses, with \$50,000 worth of supplies, was dispatched for Halifax. The next day the Boston "Evening Transcript" said:

"The developing horror of the disaster at Halifax is so terrible that the mind dare not dwell on it. To ruin and death there has been added the desolation of storm. The human suffering caused, appears in an endless and still rising climax. Of a truth it seems that the pain-ridden city stands deserted of God. Let denial be given this lying semblance. Let such a restoring flood of human mercy be poured out upon Halifax, let there be such unlimited giving of goods and of service that even in human compassion men shall see the miracle of the divine mercy at work. Any man, woman, or child still living in comfort who can give to Halifax, but who fails to act on the impulse, blackens both heart and name for all time. All records of relief funds and salvage must be broken by the subscription which is now going forward.

"As for those who are charged with responsibility as the bearers of American succor to Halifax, they should cut every shred of red-tape that may hinder their efforts. The National Red Cross and the Boston-Halifax relief committee should act as though on a guaranty that for whatever measures they order, funds will be promptly forthcoming. It must certainly be so. We can face no future in conscience if we fail now in any least way the awful necessity of the people of Halifax, who have been fighting our war and who still stand with us in arms and in dominant purpose."

On the 8th, also, word was telegraphed to Boston from Halifax: "The Bay State's relief party, bringing a complete organization into a city still stunned with the horrors of its catastrophe, is tonight leading the way out of the hysterical confusion which has prevailed." Into the giant task of bringing order out of chaos in the bewildered city, of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, ministering to the wounded, and helping bury the dead, with organized skill, in conjunction with many of the Halifax people themselves, and with

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other Canadians, the New England doctors and nurses and other relief-helpers plunged, and before long the sufferings of the people were vastly lessened. On the morning of December 9th, another dispatch from Halifax to Boston said:

“The work of relief was organized today at a meeting of Americans and Canadians, officials and volunteers, who are here with generous resources at their command, to restore so far as possible the injured, and provide food and clothing for the 20,000 who are destitute. Tonight the work of organizing the various relief units into a workable whole with a general direction that will avoid duplication of effort and tend to the greatest utility, was well under way. Federal and provincial Red Cross aid, supplemented by volunteer units from other Canadian cities and from the United States, was being capitalized to the best advantage. The Massachusetts relief train which, after having been stalled much of the night in snow drifts near the Nova Scotian border, arrived today bringing the first contingent of physicians, nurses, and supplies, was the first of several trains on the way from the American side.”²

An earlier paragraph of the same dispatch says:

“Orders for 4,000 coffins were sent today to a coffin manufacturing company at Amherst. While there will be no immediate need of this number, the order was placed to be filled as working conditions at the plant would permit. Late in the day, dredging parties working under the direction of naval authorities, dragged ashore two hundred bodies of sailors, soldiers, and laborers, recovered from the bottom of the harbour. Another searching squad reported having found forty bodies in the hulk of the Belgian steamer *Imo*, which collided with the *Mont Blanc*.”

On the 9th, also, a relief ship, the *Calvin Austin*, sailed from Boston with many more Red Cross helpers, and a store of supplies valued at \$300,000, this expedition under chief control of the Collector of the Boston port. As soon as the imperial government received accurate news of the catastrophe, it appropriated, in two grants, no less a sum than \$9,000,000, while the Dominion government made grants in all of \$12,000,000. From every province in Canada and from all the leading Canadian cities, came generous contributions of money, while New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and many other United States cities, as well as Boston, subscribed noble sums. In London, Liverpool, and Manchester, the lord-mayors of these cities at once opened subscription lists; in the West Indies,

²It is curious how commonly both United States people and Canadians use the term “Americans” to designate people of the United States in contrast to Canadians.



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various provinces of South America, Australia, and even China and Japan, large contributions to the relief fund were made.

From the feverish distrust and hatred of the Germans that existed in all the British dominions throughout the period of the war, and with the actual knowledge people had of the diabolical lengths to which the friends of Germany were willing to go in the destruction of the lives and properties of their enemies, it was inevitable that the explosion of the French munitions ship in the harbour of Halifax should in the over-excited popular imagination be promptly set down as the working-out of a German plot to destroy a city which had served as the port of departure for many thousands of troops sent overseas to defeat, if possible, the Kaiser's hosts. In some quarters, however, a calmer judgment prevailed, and as more light was thrown on the tragedy, a fairly general opinion came to prevail that the explosion was an accident, blameworthy indeed as an accident, but not the terrible consummation of a hideous German plot to destroy human lives.

In a short time, under a Provincial statute and with the co-operation of the naval authorities of the Dominion of Canada, a legal inquiry was begun in the Nova Scotia Supreme Court to fix the responsibility for the disaster, and after many weeks spent in taking evidence in the case, his honor, Mr. Justice Drysdale, to whom the case had been committed, gave his decision. Said the "Halifax Herald:"

"Yesterday, (Thursday, December 20, 1917) was the sixth day of the inquiry into the collision between the Belgian relief steamship *Imo* and the French munitions-laden steamer *Mont Blanc*. Of the *Mont Blanc*, all that remains are fragments scattered over miles of country, while the battered wreck of the *Imo* lies piled up on the Dartmouth shore, only a few yards out from low water mark. Court adjourned in the afternoon, and Mr. Justice Drysdale and his associates, Captain Demers, wreck-commissioner of Canada, and Captain Rose, R. U., representing the Admiralty, visited the wreck of the *Imo* and went over the course which had been pursued by the steamers preceding the collision. Mr. W. A. Henry, K. C., representing the Dominion Government, and the counsel for the owners of the *Mont Blanc*, accompanied the members of the court."

In this legal inquiry into the cause of the explosion, testimony was given by the officers of the French steamer, all of whom had saved their lives by fleeing to the Dartmouth shore, and by the third officer and the steward of the *Imo*. Of the officers of the *Imo*, these were all that were left to give testimony, for in the explosion the

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captain and the pilot and the first and second officers of this ship had been killed.

The decision of Justice Drysdale was, that the collision between the ships had been caused by violation of the rules of navigation by the pilot and the master of the *Mont Blanc*, and that the pilot, "because of gross negligence," should forthwith be dismissed by the pilotage authorities and have his license cancelled; and also, that criminal prosecution for manslaughter should be instituted against him.

With regard to the captain of the ship, he suggested that a recommendation should be made to the French Government that the man's license be withdrawn, and he be further dealt with as the government should deem fitting. His decision also charged the harbour officials with criminal negligence in allowing ships laden with deadly explosives to enter the harbour without giving warning of the dangerous character of their cargoes, and without special precautions being taken to keep them free of the routes of other ships.

Of the progress of the inquiry into the causes of the explosion to this point, a member of the Nova Scotia Bar says:

"Immediately following the disaster, a marine inquiry was held by the Canadian Government before Mr. Justice Drysdale, who held the *Mont Blanc* solely to blame for the collision and severely criticised the pilot and captain, also Commander Wyatt, C X O. Acting on these findings, criminal proceedings were instituted against these three men, but all were acquitted and exonerated. Meanwhile the *Imo's* owners had brought action in the Admiralty Court against the *Mont Blanc*. The case was tried before the Admiralty Judge Drysdale, the evidence taken on the marine inquiry before him being largely used, with the result that the court found the *Mont Blanc* solely to blame.

"Appeal being taken to the Supreme Court of Canada, with a bench of five judges, two judges found against the *Imo*, two others against the *Mont Blanc*, the fifth divided the responsibility between the ships. The result was that both ships were held responsible. On appeal to the Privy Council, that Tribunal held both ships to blame. Proceedings taken in France by the owners of the *Mont Blanc* are understood to have exonerated the *Mont Blanc* and her captain, holding the *Imo* solely to blame."

*Says the gentleman of the Bar to whom we are indebted for the above critical account of the legal proceedings taken for the purpose of fixing the responsibility for the disaster: "It has taken longer than I thought it would to get a history of the litigation. I can find no report other than inaccurate newspaper accounts of the proceedings, except the Appellate Court decisions, which are printed in the Supreme Court of Canada Reports and the English Law Reports." *Letter to Major J. Plimssoll Edwards, President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, written in August, 1920.*

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A newspaper report in April, 1918, further says:

“Mr. Justice Russell, of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, dismissed the application of the Crown (Mr. Cluney, K. C.) for an order for leave to prefer an indictment for criminal negligence and manslaughter against Pilot Mackay of the French ship, stating that ‘he could not without stultifying himself take any other course.’ ”

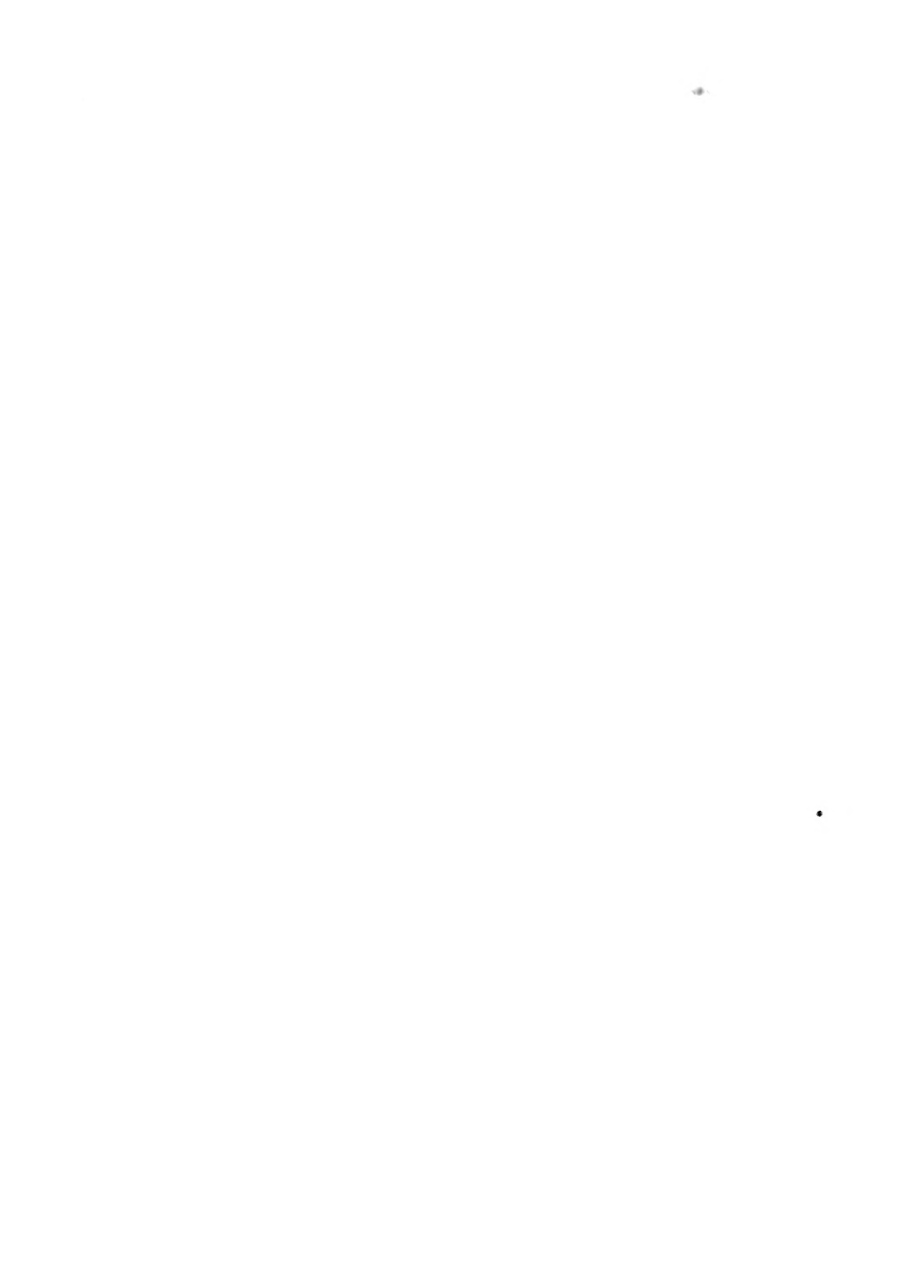
Throughout the remainder of the grim winter which will always be referred to as the “winter of the explosion,” the Halifax people who suffered from the fatal collision of the foreign ships and who survived death, protected themselves from the elements as best they could. In some streets in the destroyed parts of the town, great temporary wooden buildings like barracks were erected, in which many families crowded together for shelter. When spring opened, plans that had been developing for rebuilding the ruined section were put in action, and even the most afflicted of the Halifax residents began preparations to replace the homes they had tragically lost. Said a newspaper of the city in April, 1918, in what it advertised as a “Reconstruction Number:”

“The ruins in the devastated area have been cleared away and thousands of workmen are engaged in building the new and greater Halifax. Today the greatest need of our citizens is Vision. The old Halifax has ceased to be, and in its place must arise a city far transcending that so rudely shattered on December 6th, 1917. But only a clarified Vision, concentration of effort, a resolute will to work, can possibly achieve this. Halifax has no cause to be ashamed of her history; and since the outbreak of the World War she has gained unique distinction throughout the Empire by becoming an Imperial Port. The maintenance of her position, the enhancing of the prestige she has already won, should be the supreme concern of her loyal citizens. Dowered by the favouring grace of Providence, beautiful for situation, Halifax, the Atlantic Gateway to the fairest of England’s Overseas Dominions, must and will arise more fair, more thriving, clad in strength and beauty, the new great city of our dreams. Concentration on the high ideal, coöperation of effort among our merchants and our people, the loyal pride of Nova Scotians throughout the Province, these are essential to the fulfillment of our best desires. ‘Rome was not built in a day’ is the overworked proverb of the ancients, used to check lethargy and weakness; the Greater Halifax will never be rebuilt unless the task is vigorously grappled with today. Not merely commercial activity

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and structural beauty, but a city in that word's richest sense—a community of God-abiding, prosperous, happy, and progressive people—let it be our aim to realize this, and to its realization let every will among us be bent. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new!' The new and greater Halifax is springing now to birth."



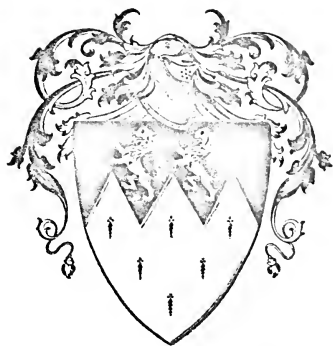


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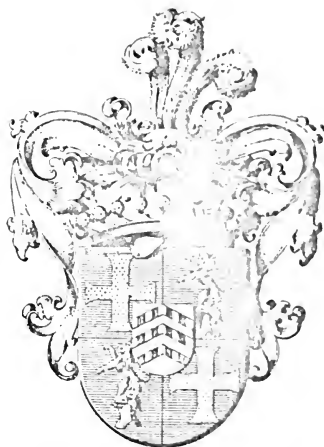
By E. C. FINLEY, MEMBER NEWPORT (R. I.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY



HERALDRY in all its branches has intrigued the imagination of mankind from time immemorial. The stage of development which it presents to the world to-day is comparatively recent, however. The custom of using a sign, distinctive and recognizable among men as appertaining to the descendants of one progenitor and members of one house, sprang into use thousands of years before need arose for the surname. Among the ancient Greeks, who assigned to Zeus the thunderbolt and the eagle, as emblematic of his supreme power and divinity, men adopted as the emblems of their houses less pretentious but equally eloquent badges. The eagle and the lion have always been the emblems of royalty, and as such were used among the Hittites and the Egyptians. Traces of the use of a rude heraldry are found among the remains of prehistoric races, showing how early man strove to express his individuality by a sign which represented himself and his house wherever seen. Totemism, discovered among the most ancient peoples, is another forerunner of true heraldry, and so far touches on the science of armory (as heraldry was originally called) that some students trace the white horse of Westphalia, the bull's head of the Mechlenburgers, and other ancient armories, to its influence. With the development of a well-ordered mythology, all the gods and goddesses had their symbols. Greek sculpture and pottery display many well defined symbols constantly associated with heroes, mythical and historical, and with races. These are often borne on shields, on helmets and on standards. These divine emblems were frequently adopted by those houses which claimed a semi-divine origin, and borne through generation and generation. The adoption of symbols for gods and men went far among the Assyrians, Egyptians and Hittites. The use of a form of heraldry among the ancient Jews is illustrated by the following verse from Chapter II, Numbers: "Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house. . . ."



With Mantling and Helmet.



With Mantling, Helmet and Crest.



Complete—With Mantling, Helmet, Crest,



Complete—With Mantling, Helmet, Cross,
Motto and Supporters.

THE ESCUTCHEON, OR SHIELD.

Rabbinical writers have supported the belief that the standards set up in the camps of the Israelites bore figures devised from the prophecy of Jacob,—the ravening wolf for Benjamin, the lion's whelp for Judah. In the East are found the ancient symbols of China and Japan—the five clawed dragon and the chrysanthemum badge of the Japanese emperor. On the American continent, long before the landing of the Spaniards in Mexico, Aztec chiefs bore shields and banners inscribed with devices showing in phonetic writing the name of their bearers; and the eagle on the flag of Mexico may be easily traced to the eagle once carved over the palace of Montezuma.

Despite the fact that its beginnings are clearly recognizable as far back as our knowledge of human life extends, heraldry as a science dates no further than the eleventh century, when laws for its guidance began to be laid down, and various symbols to be recognized as hereditary. Its suddenness of development from that time is remarkable. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa is thought to have been the first to interpose regulations in the field of heraldry, and is called by some the real father of the art. In England, and it is in English heraldry that we are particularly interested—though two heralds, Norroy and Surrey, were appointed by Edward I., and Clarenceux by Edward IV. in 1611—it was not until the reign of Henry V. that proclamation was made forbidding any one to assume armorial bearings without permission from the King or his heralds. Henry, a great patron of heraldry, instituted the office of Garter King of Arms, and his Pursuivant Blue Mantle. During his reign, heraldry became hereditary, armorial bearings descending from father to son, the eldest son wearing the shield as carried by his father. The younger sons were obliged to make use of some difference, or mark of cadency. Simplicity is the predominating feature of these early coats-of-arms. With time, however, owing to the practice of the younger branches of a family accumulating charges, altering outlines, changing colors and assuming borders, heraldry became complicated, and the necessity of instituting some means for its stringent regulation became apparent. The power of conferring arms and the right to bear them, originally invested in the king, was delegated by him to the King of Arms. The title of Clarenceux was conferred on a Herald in the train of the Duke of Clarenceux, son of Edward III. Edward IV. created that officer a King of Arms, with jurisdiction over the south, east and western parts of the king-

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dom. Beside these officers, there were inferior ones denominated Heralds and Pursuivants. The entire body incorporated by the charter of Richard III. constitutes the College of Arms.

Arms were no sooner esteemed as incontrovertible evidence of honor and blood than they were eagerly sought after. Application to the Crown for grants of arms became so constant that the King empowered Clarenceux and Norroy actually to confer the right to bear arms within their jurisdictions, under the title of Earls Marshal. The first armorial bearings were assumed without restraint, largely from military ensigns by the old British, Saxon and Norman houses, who adopted their standards first as a military distinction, and retained them as an honorable distinction. From these ancient noble houses sprang the gentry of England, who, being attached by blood or allegiance, assumed or were granted arms resembling those of their chiefs. Not all of the ancient gentry or lesser nobility received their arms in this manner, however, for they were frequently assigned by the Crown to such gentlemen of blood as had distinguished themselves on the field of battle, or in some noteworthy deed of valor. With the threatened abuse of the privilege of bearing arms, lax laws came into force. So great was the abuse, however, that Henry V. was compelled to limit the bearing of arms to those who held them by actual grant, or whose ancestors could be proved to have borne them before the battle of Agincourt—*“exceptis illis qui nobiscum apud bellum de Agincourt arma portabant.”* Despite the royal ordinance, a multiplicity of irregularities and disorders were found to have crept into matters pertaining to descent and arms. To overcome this, commissions were issued under the Great Seal to the two Provincial Kings of Arms, authorizing each to visit the whole of his province as often as necessary (about once every thirty years) “to convene before him all those who bore or assumed to bear arms, and were styled esquires and gentlemen; and to cause them to produce and show by what authority and right they challenged and claimed the use of arms.” In pursuance of this royal commission, began the circuit of the Kings of Arms, called Visitations, about the sixteenth century, which were continued periodically until the close of the seventeenth. The principal hereditary arms of England are borne under the authority of these records of Heralds’ Visitations, as they were called. Beside the College of Arms in England there is a similar institution for Scotland—The Lion Office, at the head of

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which is the Lord Lion King of Arms. In Ireland the principal Herald is styled the Ulster King of Arms.

Opinion differs widely as to the earliest authentic date which can be set for the use of heraldic bearings as we now know them. We have scattered instances of the use of arms from the eleventh century. It is known that armorial bearings were used by neither the Normans nor Saxons at the battle of Hastings. William the Conqueror, as we know, had to bare his head before he could persuade his men that he still lived. This fact aids in fixing the date when the shield, embossed with the arms of its bearer, became a distinctive and personal adjunct to his panoply of war. The use of arms on seals antedates their use on shields. Richard I. is the first English sovereign who appears on his Great Seal with arms on his shield (1189). On his seal of 1164, Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, bears a shield charged with a lion. Although in 1189 Richard bore arms of a lion rampant, another seal nine years later shows him with the familiar bearings which have been used as the arms of England by each of his successors. From the beginning of the 13th century, arms upon shields increased in number. Soon most of the great houses of the West displayed them with pride. The value of shield and banner on the field of battle as a means of distinction in the press of an engagement was quickly recognized. The knight arrayed for battle, carrying his armorial bearings on his shield, the charge of his shield displayed on his surcoat, his "coat-of-arms" on his banner and on the trapping of his horse, even on the peaks of his saddle, was recognized more easily by friend and foe than if his face, barred beyond the visored helmet, had been exposed to view. Men soon learned that the gold and blue checkers meant Warrenne, and that gold and red *vair* was for Ferrers. It is erroneous to assume, however, that the custom of bearing arms on the battlefield was the sole cause of the wide use of arms in England. The growth of the custom of sealing deeds, charters and every conceivable legal document had at least as much influence on the development of heraldry as any military need. With the rise of this custom, women, clerks (clerics), citizens and men of peace, colleges and corporations, shared with the soldier the need for a distinctive mark. Few men could write, outside the priestly class and trained clerks and scriveners, most of whom were churchmen. Hence the need for an unmistakable sign. The prestige attaching to the right to bear arms

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naturally appealed to high and low. Every effort was made to perpetuate them. Arms in stone, wood and brass decorated the tombs of the dead and the houses of the living; they were embroidered in the silks and tapestries of great houses, on the vestments of royalty and priests, painted on the sails of ships, worked in gold and silver and enamel. From a military necessity arms had become the *sine qua non* of gentility, and there was scarcely any walk of life which did not display the glory and splendor of heraldic blazonry on every occasion and under any suitable pretext. Even among warriors, the full splendor of armory played a greater part in the tournament than on the field of battle.

At this point it will not be too great a digression if we devote a short space to the tournament, which is so closely allied to the subject of heraldry. This gorgeous spectacle of the days of chivalry has figured in romance and history for centuries. The appeal of the combat at arms fought by knights in full array, and gazed upon by kings, where beauty sat enthroned and watched the clash of iron and steel, has never been neglected in English literature. Scott calculated well when he described the Tournament in "Ivanhoe," the hold which his words will take on generations to come. Despite the fact that tournaments were but "military exercises carried out not in the spirit of hostility," many a fight was fought to the death for a lady's favor, many a lifelong enmity settled, and many lives lost accidentally in these medieval games of war. The most gorgeous of which we have record is that of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, held in the valley between Guisnes and Ardres by the Kings of England and France, Henry VIII. and Francis I. A roll of the arms of those taking part in one of the tournaments of the Field of the Cloth of Gold is preserved, showing the arms of Henry and Francis, arms of contestants, and two columns of "cheques" marked with the names and scoring points of the jousts.

To treat the subject exhaustively would require a lifetime of concentrated effort, and the writer has attempted no more than to give an account of the origin of the science of heraldry. In the following description of the technical devices of heraldry, he essays only a brief synopsis of the different classes of heraldic devices, with their significance:

The *Escutcheon* or *Shield* of the Middle Ages was the first article of the trappings of a knight or soldier to be inscribed with his arms;

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it was circular and convex in shape, with a boss in the center, the body generally of wood and the rim of metal. This form was that generally borne by the foot soldier; with the mounted knight the triangular or lozenge form became the favorite, and it is this form the shield retains in heraldry, although artists have allowed themselves much liberty in the matter of outlining it. The accessories of arms are composed of the Crest; Supporters; Helmet; Mantling; Wreath, Chapeau, or Coronet; and Motto; not all of which are possessed by armigerous families. The shield, the only indispensable part of a coat-of-arms, is divided into three principal constituents—the field (or ground), the tinctures (metals, colors and furs), and the charges.

The *Field* is the ground of the shield or banner, and for facility in description has been divided into several parts. To go into the highly technical side of this subject, which requires a vocabulary of its own, would not interest the amateur reader. A few of the salient features are not amiss, however. The surface of the shield may be divided by a horizontal, perpendicular or diagonal line, or by a combination of these lines, which may be straight or variously shaped in curves, points, etc. Eleven varieties of lines, other than straight lines, are used in modern heraldry, and are named as engrailed, embattled, indented, invected, wavy or undy, nebuly, dancetty, raguly, potenté, dovetailed and urdy.

The *Tinctures* comprise two metals, nine colors, (five of which are in general use), and three furs, with their variations. The terms employed to describe them in formal heraldic languages are in the Old French—*or*, gold; *argent*, silver; *azure*, blue; *gules*, red; *vert*, green; *sable*, black; *purpure*, purple; *sanguine*, a deep-blood-red; *tennéé*, orange; *carnation*, flesh color; *bleue celeste*, sky blue; these last four are seldom used.

The *Furs* are ermine, ermines, erminois, pean, vair, counter-vair, potent counter potent. The furs are represented by distinctively shaped spots or charges distributed over the shield. It is a strict general rule that metal must not be placed on metal, nor color on color.

Ordinary Charges, or Ordinaries.—The writers upon armory have given the name of Ordinaries to certain conventional figures commonly charged upon shields. They are eight in number, according to Burke, and each has a certain number of diminutives. In the

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remotest days these had already assumed symbolic forms and meanings, and nearly every one has a special meaning or legend attached to it, often more than one, varying with the imaginative faculties of the early heralds. Oswald Barron, F. S. A., in his article on Heraldry in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," attaches little importance to the various symbolic legends of the ordinaries, stating with excellent logic that they were chosen because their distinctive outlines made them easily recognized. The principal ordinaries are:

The *Chief*—The whole upper part of the shield cut off horizontally by any of the partition lines used in heraldry; should comprise one-third of the escutcheon.

The *Pale*, formed by two lines drawn perpendicularly from top to bottom of the shield and comprising one-third.

The *Bend* is formed by two lines drawn diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base. It is said by some authorities to represent the shoulder belt or scarf of the knight, or soldier.

The *Bend Sinister* is identical with the above, in reversed position, from sinister chief to dexter base; used to denote illegitimacy.

The *Fesse*, formed by two horizontal lines drawn across the field; emblematic of the military girdle worn around the body over the armor. It comprises the center third part of the shield.

The *Bar* is a diminutive of the fesse, one-fifth the width where the latter is one-third.

The *Cross* is composed of four lines, two parallel lines perpendicular and two transverse, not drawn through, but meeting by couples near the fesse point.

The *Saltire* (the Cross of St. Andrew) composed of bend and bend sinister, united or blending where they cross.

The *Chevron*, supposed by some writers to have been adapted from the bow of a war saddle, which rose high in front, by others from the rafters of the parental roof, is formed by two parallel lines drawn from the dexter base, meeting pyramidically two parallel lines drawn from the sinister base, about the fesse point. These comprise the principal ordinaries.

The *Subordinaries* are the border, orle, canton, inescutcheon, quarter, chequy, billets, paille, gyron, pile, flaunch, lozenge, mascle, fusil, roundle, annulet, lozengy, fret, gutte.

We come next to the *Charges*, the devices incorporated in the shield. From the first, the cross was a common bearing on English shields, "Silver a cross gules" being early given to St. George, patron of knights and of England, for his arms. Under the red cross of St. George the English were wont to fight. Armorial cross-

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es took many shapes, even under the ancient heralds. The sweeping statement that all families who bear crosses in their arms descend from ancestors who fought in the Crusades, is erroneous. As the accepted symbol of Christianity and an evidence of religious faith, it was naturally highly esteemed as a charge and universally adopted. The crescent is another charge which has to answer for many idle tales concerning the crusading ancestors of families who bear it.

Heraldic charges extend over a wide field, and are taken from practically every department of natural history, as well as from historic events, implements of war, trade, agriculture, etc. In order to deal more concisely with the various types of charges, the writer has attempted a classification.

Birds and Beasts.—Animal charges form one of the largest classes of heraldic devices. In the early days when each knight could decorate his shield with the emblems which best suited his fancy, many chose as the principal charges of their escutcheons some of those animals most renowned for bravery. The book of natural history as studied in the Middle Ages lay open at the lion, to which royal beast all the noble virtues were accredited. The oldest armorial bearing yet discovered of a sovereign prince bears the rampant lion of Flanders. By custom the royal beast is always rampant, i. e., in profile, touching the ground with but one foot, and clawing the air with the other in noble rage. This rampant lion and the lion passant (prowling or walking) are the only two commonly encountered in English heraldry, although there are thirteen other rare postures of the beast—rampant-guardant, rampant-reguardant, passant-guardant, passant-reguardant, statant, saliant, sejant, sejant-affrontée, couchant, dormant, coward, rampant-combatant, rampant-passant, rampant-adossé. Dismembered lions and parts of lions are also used as charges. Among the famous lions of chivalry are the red lion rampant of Scotland, the silver lions passant of the native Princes of North and South Wales, and the black lion rampant of the Griffiths, Princes of Cardigan. Going abroad, we find the valiant winged lion of Venice, which is of course the Biblical lion of St. Mark. The lion's companion is the leopard, which differs from the king of beasts only as regards the face. Medieval armorists, attempting to construct the leopard from the description of those few travellers who had claimed to have seen one, hit upon the

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happy device of painting him like his sire, the lion, in all points. But as the lion looks forward, the leopard should look sidelong. Despite the fact that many modern armorists recognize no distinction between the lion and the leopard, calling the latter a lion passant guardant, the leopard had a well recognized place in English heraldry. The English King's beasts were leopards in blazon, ballad and chronicle. Henry V's Herald, named from his master's coat, was Leopard Herald. Napoleon's gazettes never fail to speak of the English leopards. The knight who saw the king's banner flying at Falkirk or Crecy records that it bore "Gules with three leopards of gold." Yet the modern armorist in many cases blazons the English leopards as lions passant guardant. The leopard's face is a common charge, and can always be distinguished from the lion's face, because the latter never shows more than the profile. Heraldic tigers have the faces of lions, the heads of wolves, and are tufted on head and body, and occasionally striped. The lynx and catamount, or wild cat, are much alike. With the exception of the lion and leopard, other beasts play but small part in English heraldry, although we have the wolf, fox, etc. Other animals on shields appear mostly to play upon the names of their bearers. Thus Swinburne had the heads of swine; Bacon has bacon pigs; Barnard, a rampant bear; Harewell, hares' heads; Oxwyck, fox heads; calves stand for Veel and Calverly; talbots for Talbot; lambs for Lambton, and so on indefinitely. The wild boar is a fairly usual charge, indicating bravery, and adopted by warriors. The horse is an exceedingly ancient symbol of warfare and strength, and was introduced into England by the Saxons. Dogs, chiefly represented by the talbot and greyhound, are used as heraldic charges. The stag, wild deer, hart, fawn, buck and roe, and reindeer and antelope, also appear.

Occupying a place of equal importance among birds, as that of the lion among heraldic beasts, is the eagle. The King of Birds is a charge next in importance armorially to the King of Beasts. Eagles have a long ancestry as symbols of divine power, and are naturally the distinguishing marks of kings and kingly families. The eagle for this reason is in no wise a common charge. The martlet as a bird charge is more frequently encountered, and is never found as a sole charge on a shield. The falcon or hawk, assumed as a charge when hawking was one of the chief pastimes

of the nobility, is borne with closed wings, so as not to be mistaken for the martlet. Other birds are the heron, parrot, crane, swan, daw, corbie, owl, rook, dove, peacock, magpie, pelican, and cock, all of which in the majority of instances play upon the names of those on whose shields they appear. After the eagle, the birds most common are the pelican, peacock and cock. The pelican is in reality a religious emblem, though found in secular arms. It is represented in the nest, feeding the young with blood flowing from a self-inflicted wound in the breast. In this position, the usual one, she is said to be in her piety. The symbolism is easily seen. The crane is regarded as a symbol of vigilance. Doves, originally the birds of Aphrodite, took men's souls to heaven, hence the association with the Holy Spirit; in heraldry they are mostly indicative of love and religious ardor. The cock, owing to its pugnacity has always been regarded as a bird of battle, and among the ancients in war time a white cock with a red comb was sacrificed to Mars. In heraldry it appears under its dual symbolism of soldierly courage and religious inspirations. It has always been associated with the religious cult of the Gaul; Cæsar tells us that they fought under a cock standard. The most famous instance of the heraldic cock to-day is the "Coq Gaulois," the emblem borne on the standards of the French, the descendants of the Gauls.

Fish, Reptiles, Insects.—This class of charges is borne largely to call to mind their bearers' names. Unless otherwise mentioned, fish are emblazoned as rising upward to the surface of the water. The dolphin is known by its bowed back, old artists making it a grotesquely decorative figure. It was the insignia of the heirs to the throne of France, to the day of the unhappy son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The reason of the adoption of the dolphin by the Dauphins of France has never been discovered. The whale, which appears on the arms of Whalley Abbey, is an unusual charge. Shellfish, exemplified mostly by scallops, appear. Reptiles and insects are rare, the bee being the most common of the latter.

Fabulous Creatures.—Many fabulous creatures, relics of early barbaric cults and of mythology which forced their way into the folk lore and literature of the Middle Ages, appear in English heraldry. The oldest of these monsters is the dragon, which after the Conquest came well to the fore in heraldry. Richard I. had a dragon standard in the Crusades; Henry III. a golden dragon at

Westminster; Edward I. marched into Wales under a golden dragon; and Edward III. had it at Crecy. Griffons, depicted with the hinder part of a lion, have the forequarters of eagles. The long tuft of hair under the beak and the pointed ears are the distinguishing marks from the eagle when the head alone appears. The wyvern, an ancient charge, had the general outlines of the dragon, with but two legs. A cockatrice is a wyvern with cock's head. The harpy is a charge which may be traced through classical art to Eastern mythology, as may also the unicorn, the phoenix, pegasus, centaur, mermaid, merman, triton, sea horse, and sea lion.

Human Charges.—Man appeared rather late in English heraldry, and has never occupied an important place among the charges. Figures generally of a religious nature were occasionally represented on standards and banners, and subsequently incorporated in armorial bearings. Old crests and supporters have falchion men, coal-miners, monks, blackamoors, saracens, wild men, soldiers. The Stanleys, as Kings of Man, quartered the famous three armed legs, whirling mill-sail fashion. Warriors appear in many coats. Even skeletons are not unknown. Human eyes, hearts, hands, arms and legs are encountered. The most famous of the heraldic hearts is that of the Douglasses of Scotland.

Trees, Leaves and Flowers.—Nature offered a fertile field for the early armorist. Sir Stephen Cheyndut, a thirteenth century knight, bore an oak tree, the cheyne (French for oak) of the first syllable of his name. Likewise, three apples were borne by Applegarth, *temp.* Edward III. Corn, rye, barley, wheat, appear with frequency on shields. Trefoils, leaves with three pear-shaped lobes, are seldom seen before the 15th century. Later we find quatrefoils, cinquefoils and sixfoils. Rare charges are the broom—*planta genesta*, the celebrated badge of the Plantagenet kings and the source of the name of their house,—heather, mistletoe, and ivy. The thistle, the badge of the royal house of Scotland, was bestowed in honor by Scottish rulers. Numerous flowers appear in English and continental coat-armor. Flowers and leaves are borne in the form of wreaths as charges or as decoration for other charges. Students of the subject have long contended over the origin of the fleur-de-llys, which is of sufficient importance in heraldry to be ranked as one of the ordinaries, as it is by some writers. Its very great antiquity is undeniable. The French themselves claim that they owe

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their lilies to Clovis, according to an old legend that they were a gift direct from heaven to the first Christian king of France, a charmingly romantic version, but hardly one to satisfy the student or scientist of the present day. We can trace accurately a conventionalized fleur-de-lys among the religious symbols of the ancient Egyptians, Hindoos, Greeks, Romans and Etruscans. Some claim it to be a decorative or glorified lance head. Others claim it is one of the tri-parted symbols of which instances are found among the earliest religious insignia extant. Botanists look upon it as an arbitrary form of the iris, supposed to have been used as a primitive sceptre for early chieftains. Still others think that it is the riverside flag, the yellow flowers of which were plucked by the victorious soldiers of Clovis after the battle of Tolbiac to adorn their arms, and so adopted as a royal badge. Whatever its origin, it was the earliest badge of the French kings, and appears in many forms. Brought from France into England, it was well established as an armorial charge as early as the first half of the eleventh century, and has continued to hold a place of undisputed importance.

As France has her Lily, Scotland her Thistle, England has her Rose. The rose, like the lily, has its counterpart in ancient civilization and mythologies. It has been treated in heraldry both conventionally and realistically with equally beautiful effect. The early heraldic rose is modelled after the wild type, and "forms a perfect symbol of beauty and gracefulness." The earliest heraldic roses consisted of five petals. In later examples we have two or more rows of petals added. As a badge and a charge, it reached its most luxuriant development under the Tudors. The Tudor Rose, like the fleur-de-lys, has great decorative value, and is found in profusion in the architecture and wood carving, and in practically every branch of art cultivated in the Tudor period. Roses were widely used as the badges of noble families, as well as charges upon their escutcheons. The War of the Roses was fought under the Red and White Roses of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Miscellaneous Charges.—Other charges are for the greater part used to play upon the bearers' name. Weapons and the like are rare, though occasionally encountered as charges; we find swords, helmets, bent bows, arrows, birding bolts, lances and battle-axes. We have also slings, catapults, cannon-balls, gauntlets, annulets, buckles. Of the developed structural parts of the shield, escar-

buncles, fers-de-moline and staples, are of chief importance. Another group of charges is represented by buildings, castles, churches and bridges. Keys are encountered, chiefly with the significance of defence, although occasionally with religious meaning. Although England has been for centuries a seafaring nation, ships appear very infrequently in English heraldry, and are chiefly employed by the seaboard towns in their municipal coats-of-arms. The wardrobe furnishes many minor charges, of which the most important is the sleeve or maunch. Mirrors, books, baskets, musical instruments, agricultural and trade implements appear, usually with punning significance, and are rare in the coat armour of private individuals.

Passing from the Shield or Escutcheon proper, the most important accessory of the arms is the *Crest*. Like the arms it has its pre-heraldic history in the crests of the Greek helmets, the wings, the wild boars' and bulls' heads of Viking headpieces. The helmet was a necessary part of the armor of the medieval knight, but the custom of surmounting it with a crest came slowly into use in England. Scattered instances occur before the fourteenth century, but it is not until after that date that the crest springs into widespread use. In 1198, Richard Coeur de Lion appears on his seal in a barrel-helm with a leopard on the semi-circular comb-ridge. Of the long roll of earls and barons sealing the famous letter to the Pope in 1301, only five show true crests on their seals. With the development of the tournament, the crest offered a new field for heraldic display, and it was rapidly incorporated into the coats armour of knights, to remain a fixed accessory of the shield to the present day. The range of crests is wide, whole or half figures, the heads and necks of heraldic beasts and birds, feathers, plumes, weapons of war, trees, flowers, being the most commonly used. By strict usage, no crest is allowed to a woman or to members of the clergy. Interposed between the crest and the helmet or the shield proper is the torse, or wreath, representing the silken or linen scarf bound about the helmet. The crest rests either on the wreath or on coronets, crowns or hats of estate, according to the rank of the bearer. With the wreath may be considered the mantle, which in its earliest form is seen as two strips of silk attached to the top of the helmet below the crest, and streaming like pennants as the rider bent his head and charged. The general opinion among

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the antiquarians is that the mantle originated among the crusaders as a protection for the steel helmet against the rays of the Eastern sun. In modern heraldry the mantle takes the principal color of the shield, lined with the principal metal.

Supporters, the least frequently encountered accessory of the shield, are figures placed on each side of the shield, appearing, as the term implies, to support it. These (in a lesser degree the crest also), are often personal rather than hereditary, and may be changed from generation to generation. The kings of France used angels as supporters of the shield of the fleur-de-lys from the fifteenth century. Sovereigns of England from Henry IV, to Elizabeth changed about between supporters of harts, leopards, antelopes, bulls, greyhounds, boars and dragons. James I. at his accession to the English throne adopted the lion and the unicorn, which have since been the royal supporters. In England the right to bear supporters is confined to Peers of the Realm, Knights of the Garter and Bath, and to those persons who have obtained them by royal grant. A few ancient unennobled English families retain them by right of hereditary prescription.

The *Motto*, the last adjunct of the complete coat-of-arms, is borne on a scroll beneath the shield, and may be retained or relinquished at will. Few have any antiquity. Some, however, like the "Esperance" of the Percys, were the war-cries of remote ancestors.

Coronets, crowns or caps of estate, used as accessories to the escutcheon, have already been mentioned. They are of ancient origin. The crown or coronet in some form or another has been a mark of rank from time immemorial. When Edward III. made dukes of his sons, gold circlets were set upon their heads in token of their new dignity. In subsequent reigns the honor was extended to earls, and a few days before the coronation of Charles II. the privilege was extended to the lowest rank of the peerage. The caps of velvet lined with miniver, worn with the peer's coronet, are the ancient caps of honor, akin to the "cap of maintenance" worn by English sovereigns on their coronation days when walking to the Abbey Church, and borne before them on occasions of state. The ancient circle of the peers was enriched according to the individual taste of the bearer. The form of the modern English coronet is strictly regulated, however, and varies for each rank of the peerage.

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The *Helmet* likewise shows the rank of the bearer. The most ancient form is the simplest, composed of iron, and of a shape fitted to the head, flat upon the top, with an aperture for the light. This is styled the Norman helmet, and appears on very old seals attached to the gorget, a separate piece of armor which covered the neck. In the twelfth century a change was made to mark the estate of the individual. The helmet of Kings and Princes of the Royal Blood is full faced, of gold, with the beauvoir divided by six projecting bars, and lined with crimson. The helmet of the nobility, placed on the shield inclined to a profile, is of steel with fire bars of gold. The helmet of knights and baronets is the full faced steel helmet, with the visor thrown back and without bars. That of esquires is always depicted in profile, is of steel, and bears the visor closed.

In this article the writer has attempted nothing more than to present the salient features of an interesting science. The interest which Americans have manifested in recent years for genealogy and heraldry is its *raison d'être*.





CUSHING MONUMENT, FREDONIA, NEW YORK.
Erected to the Memory of Four Cushing Brothers.



CUSHING MONUMENT, FREDONIA, NEW YORK.
Erected to the Memory of Four Cushing Brothers.

A Family of Heroes



IN THE beautiful Forest Hill Cemetery at Fredonia, Chautauqua county, New York, stands a monument erected in memory of four heroic brothers who faithfully served their country in its hour of need, two of them dying on the field of battle, and two from the effects of their service. They were Major Milton Buckingham Cushing, Lieutenant Howard B. Cushing, Colonel Alonzo H. Cushing, and Commander William Barker Cushing. They were grandsons of Judge Zattu Cushing, a native of Massachusetts, who removed to the State of New York, aided in the settlement and organization of the county of Chautauqua, and became one of its leading citizens. At the first term of the court of that county held after his death, the Bar provided that his portrait should be hung over the judges' bench in the court house.

Dr. Milton Buckingham Cushing, son of Judge Zattu Cushing, was a physician and a merchant, an energetic, clear-sighted, persevering man, of lofty character and vigorous intellect, influential and public-spirited. He was the father of the four Cushing brothers whose careers are hereinafter traced. Their mother was his second wife, a daughter of Elisha Smith, Member of Congress, of Salem, Massachusetts, a lineal descendant of John Alden of *Mayflower* fame, and nearly related to the John Adams, Hancock, Madison and Phillips families. She was a woman of refinement and culture, and mentally and morally of great strength. When she was widowed, her eldest child was but ten years old. Her means were limited, and to maintain her home and provide for those dependent upon her, she opened a school in her own home in Fredonia, New York. She survived all her children but one—a daughter, Mrs. E. H. Bouton, in whose home at St. Joseph, Missouri, she died, March 26, 1891.

The eldest son of Dr. Milton Buckingham Cushing, and his namesake, was born in Columbus, Ohio, April 20, 1837, and died in Dunkirk, New York, January 1, 1886. He served with the army during the War of 1861-65, as paymaster, with the rank of major.

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The second son, Howard B. Cushing, was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 22, 1838. He also performed military service, rising to the rank of first lieutenant in the Third U. S. Cavalry Regiment. He was engaged with that command during the Indian troubles in Arizona, and was killed by Cachise, the noted Apache chief, May 5, 1861. A monument to his memory was erected by the citizens in Tucson, Arizona.

The other two sons of Dr. Milton Buckingham Cushing are written of as follows by Mr. John P. Downs, in a work now in press, "History of Chautauqua County, New York." (The American Historical Society, Inc.).

Colonel Alonzo Hereford Cushing was born January 19, 1841, and was killed at the battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. His birthplace was Delafield, Wis. He was appointed to the Military Academy at West Point through Hon. F. S. Edwards, Member of Congress from the Thirty-first District of New York. He was graduated January 24, 1861, as second lieutenant, and commissioned first lieutenant, Fourth Artillery, June 24, 1861, breveted captain December 13, 1863, for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Fredericksburg. He was made major May 2, 1863, for like service at the battle of Chancellorsville, and promoted to lieutenant-colonel July 1, 1863. After graduating he was first of his class ordered into the field, and was assigned to the duty of instructing volunteer regiments preparatory to the move on Manassas, in which movement he commanded a section of a regular battery. He was chief of ordnance on General Sumner's staff, with the rank of captain, participating in every battle of the Peninsular campaign. For a time he was transferred to the Topographic Corps. His favorite arm of service was the artillery, to which he was returned at his own request, and assigned to the command of Battery A of the Fourth Regiment. His battery was under General Hancock in the Second Corps in the campaign into Pennsylvania; and at Gettysburg, in the face of that last wild charge of Pickett's division, he was with Battery A at Cemetery Ridge, a crucial point on the battlefield, with nothing to mask his position, men, guns and horses standing out in bold relief against the sky. After all his men had been shot down and every gun of his battery dismounted but one, he stood among his dead and dying men, himself mortally wounded, and with the foe not thirty feet away, pulled the lanyard and fired his last gun upon the charging columns of the enemy, saying to an officer who was riding up with reinforcements: "We will give them one more shot, General Webb," and he fell back dead, his work of defense accomplished, the tide of battle there turning toward victory for the Union army.

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Commander William Barker Cushing was born in Wisconsin, November 4, 1842, youngest son of Milton B. and Mary (Smith) Cushing. He received his early education at Fredonia, New York, and in 1857 was appointed to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, but resigned March 23, 1861. In May of the same year, the war being now on, he volunteered and was appointed master's mate on the U. S. Ship *Minnesota*, and on the day of her arrival at Hampton Roads captured the *Delaware Farmer*, a tobacco schooner, the first prize of the war. He was attached to the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, served part of the time on the South Atlantic coast, and repeatedly distinguished himself by acts of bravery.

He was commissioned lieutenant July 16, 1862, and in November of the same year he was ordered to Jacksonville, Florida, to destroy the New Juliet salt works. He captured a mail, took prizes, and shelled a Confederate camp, but was unable to cross the bar to Jacksonville. He then served on the Blackwater and in the sounds of North Carolina, where he distinguished himself upon several occasions. During 1863 he added to his reputation for daring bravery and good judgment by an expedition up the Cape Fear and Little rivers, and his operations on the Nansemond. It is not possible to give in detail all of his brilliant exploits, distinguished services and hair-breadth escapes. His most daring feat, and which made world-wide his then already splendid reputation, was the destruction of the Confederate iron-clad ram *Albemarle* on the night of October 27, 1864.

The *Albemarle* had successfully encountered a strong fleet of Union gunboats and fought for several hours without sustaining material damage. There was nothing able to cope with her in the Sounds, and grave apprehensions were entertained of the Union iron-clads being able to prevent her from sweeping everything before and shelling the principal Northern seaport cities. Cushing volunteered to destroy her and banish the nightmare of terror which her presence cast upon the Union fleets. With a steam launch and a volunteer crew who fully realized the importance and danger of the mission upon which they were going, he ascended the Roanoke river, towing an armed cutter. The river was lined with Confederate pickets, but Cushing's phenomenal good luck did not desert him, and he was within a few yards of the *Albemarle* before he was discovered. Casting off the boat he had in tow, with orders to attack a picket post nearby, he drove the launch straight at the huge bulk of the iron-clad, whose crew rushed to quarters and opened a heavy fire. The launch replied effectively with her howitzer, until Cushing reached the raft of heavy logs which had been built around the ram. Over this the launch was driven, and by the time she received her death wound from the *Albemarle's* guns, Cushing had swung the torpedo boom under the great ship's overhang and ex-

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ploded the charge. A large hole was blown in the iron-clad's side, and she sank at her moorings. Cushing left his sinking boat and swam down stream a half mile, where he reached the river bank thoroughly exhausted. When he recovered strength, he plunged into a dense swamp, and after hours of tedious wading came out on the shore of a creek where he found a Union picket boat. He and only one other of his companions escaped. For the sinking of the *Albemarle* he received the thanks of Congress, and was shortly afterwards elevated to the rank of lieutenant-commander, his commission dated October 27, 1864.

At Fort Fisher he buoyed out the channel in a small skiff, and completed his work in six hours. In the final assault he led a force of sailors and marines from the *Monticello* against the sea front of the fort, and amid an unceasing fire at short range which cut down his men in windrows, he crossed one hundred rods of sand, and gave such efficient support to the land forces that before midnight the fort was surrendered.

During the war he received five commendatory letters from the Secretary of the Navy, and at the close of the struggle was appointed to the command of the *Lancaster* in the Pacific squadron. In 1868 he was placed in command of the *Maumee*, and for four years was attached to the Atlantic Squadron. On the return of the *Maumee* to the United States, Lieutenant-Commander Cushing was advanced to the rank of commander, to date from January 1, 1872, he being at that time the youngest officer of that rank in the navy. He was allowed leave of absence, but his health, which had been impaired by over-exertion, failed completely, and he died of brain fever in Washington, D. C., December 17, 1874.

As, during the Civil War, Cushing was noted for finding opportunities for upholding the honor of the navy and the flag, so in times of peace his intense patriotism kept him ever alert to enhance the glory of his beloved country. A notable instance occurred in November, 1873.

Cushing was in command of the U. S. S. *Wyoming* at Aspinwall, when an urgent telegram was received from the United States Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, telling of the need of a warship, and describing the capture on the high seas of the steamer *Virginius*, and the shooting as pirates of her captain and part of her crew at Santiago de Cuba by order of the Spanish Governor-General Burriel, and that more American lives were in peril.

Believing it his duty to lose no time, Cushing sailed at once, without waiting for orders, and arrived at Santiago, November 15. The British frigate *Niobe* was in the harbor. Her commander, Sir Lambert Lorraine, had made an earnest protest to the Governor, demanding that no more British subjects be shot. General Burriel had ignored the letter, and two days before Cushing appeared had

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shot twenty-eight more men, sixteen of whom were said to be British subjects. Immediately upon Cushing's arrival, he despatched a letter of protest to the Governor, and followed it up by a personal call, accompanied by some of his officers. Refusing to take the general's offered hand, he looked him squarely in the eye and demanded that not another prisoner be shot, for if any more executions took place, he would better remove the women and children, as he (Cushing) should bombard the town. Awed and impressed by the words and bearing of the American officer, General Burriel gave the desired promise—and kept it.

The following year a joint resolution (House Resolution No. 88) was introduced in the American Congress, "tendering the thanks of Congress to Sir Lambert Lorraine of the British Navy, for his humane and generous interposition at Santiago de Cuba in protecting the lives of the survivors of the *Virginus* expedition," etc. The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom the resolution was referred, reported that upon investigation they were pleased to add it was Commander W. B. Cushing, and not Sir L. Lorraine, who had caused the executions to cease, and "your committee believe that said joint resolution ought not to pass." "It fully appears that Capt. Cushing did his duty completely and gallantly in asserting the rights of the American government and its citizens, and upholding the honor of the American flag." Cushing, when only a junior officer, received the thanks of Congress in 1864 for the *Albemarle* exploit, but there were those who felt he had earned it a second time—which, if granted, would have been an unprecedented occurrence.

A few days after Commander Cushing's protest to Gen. Burriel, the U. S. S. *Juanita*, commanded by Commander D. L. Braine, arrived from New York, sent to adjust matters, and Cushing returned to his station at Aspinwall.

That a hero's name and deeds are not forgotten, it should perhaps be recorded that so recently as 1915 two notable events in remembrance of this gallant officer took place. The first was the launching of the second torpedo destroyer to be called *Cushing*, at Quincy, Massachusetts, his daughter Marie giving it the cherished name. In the late World War the *Cushing* was the flagship of the torpedo destroyer fleet sent to England.

The second event in the same year was the unveiling of a splendid granite monument by his younger daughter, Katharine, at his birthplace at Delafield, Wisconsin. The State of Wisconsin appropriated a large sum of money and in connection with the Waukesha County Historical Society erected the stately shaft in a park of eight acres of the original farm where Alonzo and William were born. Howard was also born in the State, at Milwaukee, so the park is called "The Cushing Memorial Park." As it now belongs to the State Park System, it will be cared for in perpetuity.

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Commander Cushing married, February 22, 1870, Katherine Louise Forbes, daughter of Colonel D. S. Forbes, of Fredonia, New York. To them were born two daughters, Mary Louise, and Katherine A. Mrs. Cushing, a woman of taste and refinement, yet resides with her daughters in her pleasant home in Fredonia.

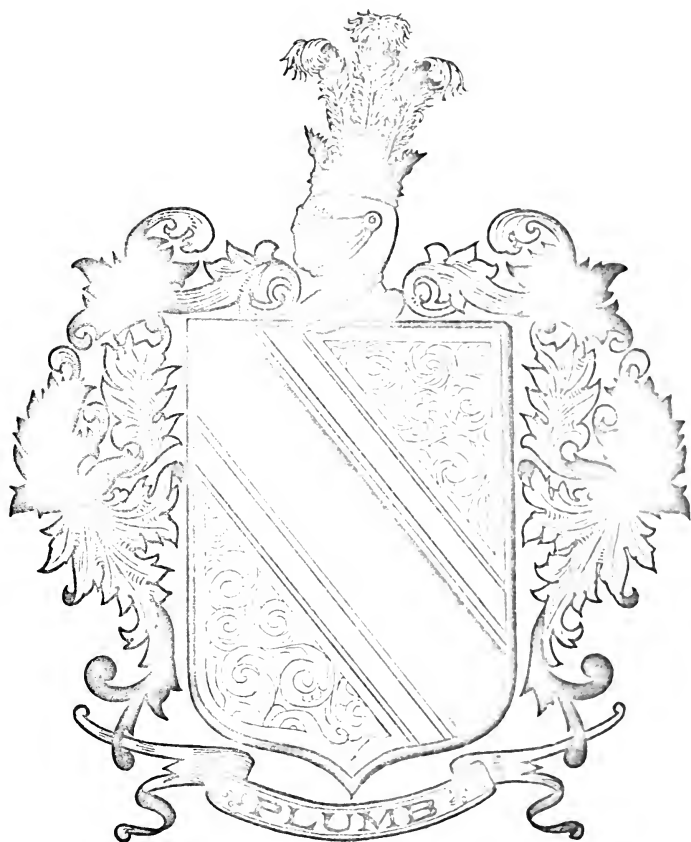
The memory of William B. Cushing has been honored by various Grand Army posts in Wisconsin and other States of the Union named after him; while on the water the seagoing torpedo boat *Cushing* suggests by its character the daring of him for whom the vessel was named. A thousand pens have written of him and his deeds, and among the great and deserved tributes recorded in honor of his achievements the following are selected:

"The country and the Navy may be proud of this most adventurous of their heroes. Cushing, by repeated daring and successful achievements, has rivaled the fame of Paul Jones and Perry, and associated his name with theirs in immortality."

"That intense earnestness of purpose, that wonderful spirit of daring, and that supreme contempt of death which characterized the heroes of the great Rebellion, as well as the cool and deliberate calculations of its great leaders and master spirits, were qualities possessed by Cushing in the highest degree; while in addition to all this he was gifted with a military ability, a fertility of invention and all-powerful will, which places him among the greatest naval heroes of all time."

"No Cleopatra of ease lured Cushing from any action of life and no thought of death ever cast a shadow of fear upon any enterprise, however dangerous, which he had conceived. He was always in the battle where the iron hail fell the thickest, and his place in the picture was where the blaze of the cannon was the brightest."





Plumb and Allied Families

Plumb Arms—Argent, a bend vaire, or and gules, between two bendlets vert.

Crest—Out of a ducal coronet, or, three ostrich plumes, proper.



HARLES WAREING BARDSLEY, M. A., in his "Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames," assigns the origin of the surname Plumb, which is variously spelled Plume, Plumbe, Plum, to a local source. The name signifies literally "at the plum," i. e., plum tree; the "b" in Plumb is of course excrement. Plumb was in use in England among the earliest family names. The American family is descended from the English family of County Essex. The name of Robertus Plumme appears in the Great Roll of Normandy, A. D. 1180; John Plume was in Hertfordshire in 1240, and in 1274 the surname is found in Somersetshire, Cambridge and Norfolk. One branch of the Connecticut Plumbs traces its ancestry direct to John Plumbe, or Plumb, of Toppesfield, County Essex, England, born about 1505; of this line, John Plumb, of Wethersfield, was the immigrant ancestor and progenitor of a widely dispersed line. The late David Wells Plumb, manufacturer, financier, and philanthropist, of Shelton, Connecticut, was a lineal descendant of John Plumb, of Wethersfield.

I. John Plumb, of Terling, County Essex, was born about 1510, and was doubtless closely related to John Plumb, of Toppesfield, mentioned above. He married Johanna ———, and he was buried January 25, 1548-49.

II. George Plumb, son of John and Johanna Plumb, was baptized at Terling, England, April 23, 1547; he was buried there October 11, 1586, aged thirty-nine years. The names of his wife and children are not known, but there is good reason to believe that he and his sons lived at Inworth, the register of which parish is lost.

IV. George (2) Plumb, or Plume, grandson of George (1) Plumb, above mentioned, was born about 1607. His will, dated July 25, 1667, bequeathing to his wife Grace and sons John and Timothy, was proved July 18, 1670, and shows that he was the father of Timothy Plumb, of Hartford and Wethersfield, and of John Plumb, of Hartford and New London. George Plumb married (second) Sarah ———, who proved the will. He was buried in June, 1670, at Inworth, Essex, England, where he lived.

V. John (2) Plumb, son of George Plumb, was born in Essex, England, in 1634, and died about 1696. He deposed at Hartford, Connecticut, July 11, 1666, that he was about thirty-two years old.

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

John Plumb settled first in Hartford, where he resided for many years. He later removed to New London, however, where he was elected constable in 1680. He was an inn-holder at New London, and also a ship-owner and master. He owned the ketch *Hartford*. In January, 1675-76, during King Philip's War, he was the bearer of dispatches from New London to the governor at Hartford, and was afterward granted land for service in the war. During the period of his residence in Hartford, he was given power of attorney to collect debts at Charlestown, Massachusetts, for creditors in England, and was named a son of George Plumb, of Inworth, Essex. He married Elizabeth Green, who joined the church at New London in 1691. Among their children was *Joseph*, mentioned below.

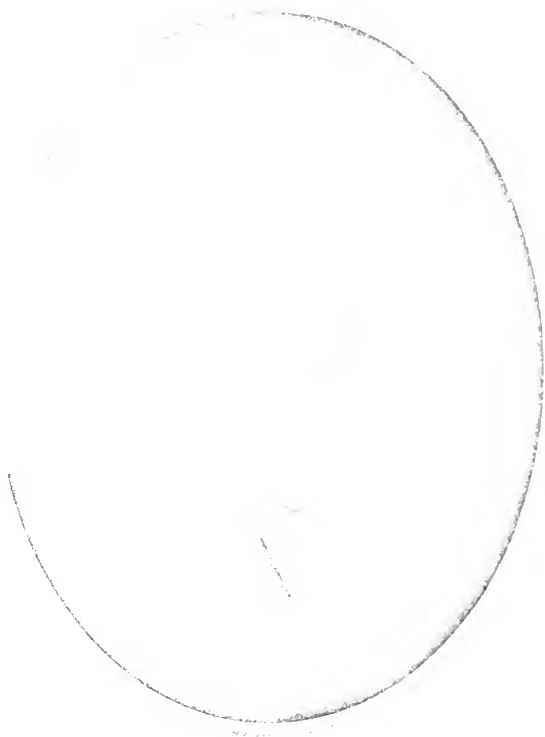
VI. Joseph Plumb, son of John (2) and Elizabeth (Green) Plumb, was born in Milford, Connecticut, about 1671, and settled permanently in that town with his brother Samuel in 1692. He married, in 1700, Susanna Newton, who was born in July, 1673. Joseph Plumb died in March, 1714, and his widow was appointed administratrix of the estate, April 8, 1714.

VII. Noah Plumb, son of Joseph and Susanna (Newton) Plumb, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1709, and died in 1776. He remained in Stratford and made the town his home from 1747 until his death. He married (first) about 1738, Abiah Platt; (second) November 23, 1761, Abigail Curtiss. He died in January, 1776, and his will was proved, February 5, following.

VIII. David Plumb, son of Noah and Abiah (Platt) Plumb, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, June 25, 1751, and was a resident of the town during the Revolutionary period. He married, December 29, 1776, Mary Beach, and they were the parents of Noah, mentioned below.

IX. Noah (2) Plumb, son of David and Mary (Beach) Plumb, was born in Trumbull, Connecticut, May 3, 1782. He married (first) Thankful Beach; (second) Urania Wells, born November 15, 1784. (See Wells VIII). Noah Plumb was a prominent resident and large land owner of Trumbull.

X. David Wells Plumb, son of Noah (2) and Urania (Wells) Plumb, was born in the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1809, and was educated in the schools of the city. On completing his studies, Mr. Plumb went to Derby, where he secured his first business experience. After a short period spent in Derby, Mr. Plumb went to Ansonia, where he established himself independently in the woolen business. The venture proved most successful, and under the management of Mr. Plumb the business was developed rapidly into one of the most flourishing of its kind in the associated towns of Derby and Ansonia. He rose within a short time to an established position as one of the leaders of the woolen industry. He did not,



D. W. Plumb



PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

however, confine his activities solely to this field, but became identified with numerous other manufacturing enterprises in Connecticut. Among these were the Star Pin Company and the Silver Plate Cutlery Company, in both of which he was for many years president.

Mr. Plumb was vice-president of the Birmingham National Bank, and a member of its board of directors for twenty-two years. He was also president of the Housatonic and Shelton Water companies. In the course of his long business career, Mr. Plumb had amassed a considerable fortune, through shrewd investment and the skillful management of the enterprises with which he was connected, and in which he was heavily interested. A man of keen perceptions, well abreast of the times and thoroughly familiar with every phase of the industries in which he engaged and the markets which he supplied, he was talented as an organizer. Just and fair in his management of subordinates, approachable, keenly interested in every movement to better conditions among the working class, he was an ideal executive, and had the respect and even the love of the men who worked under him. The welfare of the town of Shelton, in which he lived, was always close to his heart, and for many years he sponsored movements for the betterment of educational opportunities in the town. Among the many improvements which he was instrumental in securing is the beautiful Riverview Park. This park was planned by Mr. Plumb, the grounds laid out, the site selected and the name given by him, and it was he who financed the project. One of his chief ambitions for the community was the founding of an adequate library at Shelton, and toward this end he connected himself with the Library Association, of which he was president for many years prior to his death. He died before accomplishing his design, but his will provided a liberal fund for this purpose. A brother undertook the task of rearing what in effect was a monument to Mr. Plumb's generosity, and superintended the erection of the Plumb Memorial Library at Shelton, one of the handsomest library buildings in the State of Connecticut. These are but two instances of his constant concern for the good of his fellowmen, but they give an insight into a character in which selfishness and altruism were dominant.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Plumb retired from active business life to his home in Shelton, where he died June 29, 1893. One biographer tells us:

"In personal appearance and character, Mr. Plumb was a man of energy and force. His well developed head and firm jaw were relieved by a mouth and eye that spoke unmistakably of kindness and humor. He was a man of much original thought, and his interest was busy with the great problems of the ages, religious, philosophical and social, his opinions on these matters being well worthy of consideration. . . . His experience with life from his earliest youth had been that stern one which teaches that nothing comes without corresponding effort, and he had accordingly ordered his life upon a system of self-imposed discipline calculated to best preserve the strength and health he knew were essential to the accomplishment of his ends."

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His death was most sincerely mourned not only in Shelton, but in the business and financial circles of Derby and Ansonia, in which he had so long been a dominant figure. Tributes were paid to his memory by the numerous organizations with which he had been identified in life. None can give a more adequate conception of the life of the man, his character, and the importance of the part he played, than the following resolutions of the board of directors of the Birmingham National Bank:

"Mr. David W. Plumb, for twenty-two years vice-president and director of this bank, died at his residence in Shelton, on the evening of the 29th of June last, at the age of eighty-four years and nine months. Upon us, his associates and fellow directors, falls the duty of placing upon record our appreciation of his work and worth.

"His was a long and busy life, the earlier years of which were years of trial and struggle. His courage, his patience and perseverance, and, above all, his indomitable will and intelligent determination, overcame all obstacles, and won for him a success most richly deserved. With ample resources, so worthily gained, having established himself in his new home on the heights, and, looking out from its commanding position, as he surveyed the scene of his future activity, this thoughtful man doubtless outlined the plan of his life. His purpose is revealed in the important part taken by him in carrying to destined completion that great public work known as the Housatonic Water Company, in fostering and encouraging new enterprises; in adding another name to the long list of towns made strong and prosperous by the thrift and energy of New England manufacturers; in contributing to the endowment of a hospital in the place where he was born; and in the gift which made possible and actual a public park in the place where he died.

"As in adversity he had shown himself equal to all its exigencies, so his spotless integrity, sound judgment, independence in thought and action and coolness in time of financial or other excitement, and faithfulness to duty, revealed him equally equipped for the difficulties, may it not be said, greater difficulties, which prosperity brings. Mr. Plumb was a man of character, strong character, simple in his tastes and ways, of pure life, happiest at his home. His fondness for reading and a most retentive memory made his knowledge extensive, accurate and responsive to call. His opinions were his own, and when formed were not easily changed.

"Summoned many times by a confiding constituency to the legislative council of the State, his fidelity was as conspicuous as his knowledge of the needs and aids, which wise legislation should supply, was varied and accurate. With him public office was indeed a public trust. In his death this bank has lost an intelligent, efficient, faithful officer, one who, believing that the acceptance of office involved the obligation of fulfilling strictly all its duties, was uniformly present at its meetings, and by his watchful care and wise counsel rendered invaluable service to this institution.

"The members of this board keenly feel the loss of a courteous and most intelligent member, associating with whom has given them the highest appreciation of his character and worth. To the family of Mr. Plumb they tender their sincere condolence, and direct the secretary to transmit to them this sincere expression of their own loss and their sympathy with them in their bereavement."

On December 7, 1875, Mr. Plumb married Louise Wakelee, daughter of Ebenezer and Nancy D. (Wheeler) Wakelee, descendant of an old Connecticut family of early Colonial date, which has long been prominent in the country round about Shelton. Mrs. Plumb, who survives her husband, resides in Shelton. (See Wakelee).

(The Wells Line).

Arms—Or, a lion rampant sable double-queued, on a chief gules two annulets interlaced of the field.

Crest—Out of a mural crown proper a demi-lion, double-queued sable, holding between the paws two annulets interlaced or.



*Diary of
Residence of Mrs. W. H. Hunt*



Wells

As early as the eleventh century, William the Conqueror gave to one of the knights who had followed him into England the Manor of Welles, and made him Baron, or Lord Welles. In return the grantee, Richardus de Welles, was to keep the King's household supplied with bread, and he held the manor by this tenure. In Camden's "Britanica" we find the entry "Richard de Welles held the Manor of Welles—adjoining the Manor of Owres ever since the Conquest of England, by the service of being baker." The family is therefore one of the most ancient in England, and is also one of the most notable in the Kingdom. Adam de Welles, direct descendant of Richard de Welles, is the ancestor and progenitor of the modern English and American families of the name. He is of record in the 6th year of the reign of Edward I., (1278) as paying ten marks for adhering to John, Earl of Moreton.

The family in America was founded by Thomas Welles, a prominent English Puritan, who was born in England, about the year 1570, married, about 1596, and emigrated to America in 1629—supposedly in one of the three ships, *George Bonaventure*, *Lion's Whelp*, or *Talbot*—which vessels sailed from London, in May, 1629, and landed at Naumkeag (now Salem), Massachusetts, June 24, 1629—one year before Boston was founded. He came to America alone, his family consisting of six sons all residing in Essex county, England, viz.: Thomas, Hugh, Nathaniel, Edward, John, Joseph, they all emigrating soon afterward. About 1633 the entire family, with the exception of Edward, removed to Rhode Island, prior to the settlement made by Roger Williams. Their descendants comprise one of the largest and most notable of early American Colonial families.

I. Thomas Welles or Wells, Sr., founder of the family in America, settled in Rhode Island, where he purchased a tract of over four hundred acres of land, of the Narragansett Indians, and made a settlement in the wilderness, which he called "Wellstown." Some of this land yet remains in the hands of his descendants. Thomas Wells died here and was buried on his own land, in that section which has since been called "Chimney Orchard," where a number of the family have since been buried.

II. Governor Thomas (2) Wells, son of Thomas (1) Wells, was born in Essex county, England, in 1598. He accompanied his brother to America, and with his father removed to the Narragansett country. With Hugh and John Wells he soon returned to Massachusetts, however, and in 1635 became active in the founding of the Connecticut Colony. He located first at Saybrook, and later removed to Hartford, where on May 1, 1637, he was chosen magistrate. He was thenceforward one of the foremost public men of Connecticut. In April, 1639, he was chosen magistrate and treasurer. He was elected moderator of the General Court, (until a gov-

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ernor could be chosen) at a convention of the freemen, in Hartford, February, 1654. On May 18th of that year he was elected deputy governor, and on May 17, 1655, became governor of Connecticut. Again on May 28, 1656, he was elected deputy governor, and in 1657 filled the office once again. He held other offices of honor and trust. Governor Thomas Wells died in Wethersfield, January 14, 1660, aged sixty-two years, and was buried at Hartford, where in 1844 a monument was erected to his memory.

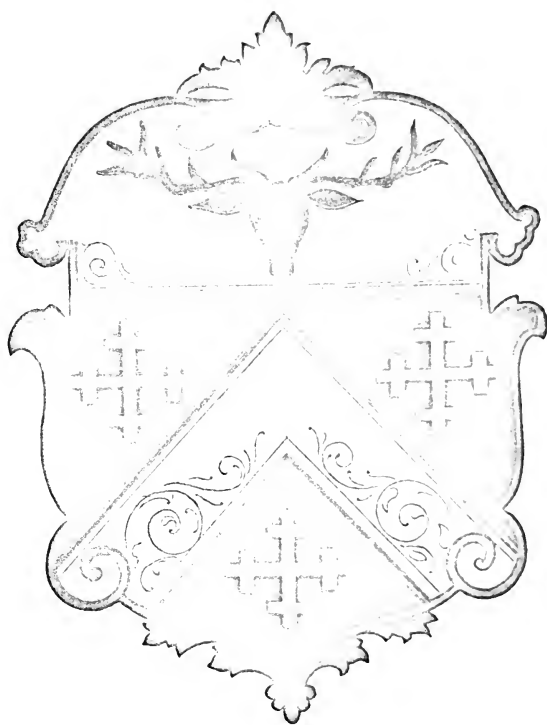
Prior to his coming to America, Thomas Wells had been private secretary to Lord Say, and although of professed Puritan sympathies had occupied a position which gave him insight into English affairs of the time. His father, an Englishman of wealth and standing, was a large land owner. He also owned and conducted a large hotel in London, which was frequented by the nobility. He was eventually suspected by the High Commission Court of entertaining Puritan beliefs and was watched closely. His son, Thomas, learning of this fact, hurried his father on board a vessel bound for America. The father lost all his property in London, and the son sacrificed his, among which was Welles Hall, formerly "Rayne Hall" in Essex, which had been his home. It will thus be seen that the sacrifice made by the Welles family for the sake of conscience and religious liberty was a great one, and that they brought with them to the new world, not only the heritage of birth and breeding, but a deep religious fervor, a love of freedom and self-determination which has been infused into all its members to the present day.

Governor Thomas Wells married (first) Elizabeth Hunt, who died in 1640. He married (second) Elizabeth Foote, widow of Nathaniel Foote, and sister of John Deming, one of the pioneers of Wethersfield.

III. John Wells, son of Governor Thomas (2) Wells, was born in England, in 1621, and accompanied his parents to America. He settled in Saybrook in 1636, was in Hartford soon after, and in 1645 settled in Stratford, where he resided until his death. He was admitted a freeman at Hartford in 1645. In 1656-57-59 he was deputy to the General Court from Stratford, and in 1658 was magistrate and judge of probate there. He was one of the foremost citizens of Stratford and one of its largest land owners. In 1647 he married Elizabeth Curtis, daughter of John Curtis, one of the pioneer settlers of Stratford, and sister of William Curtis. She married (second) John Wilcoxson.

IV. John (2) Wells, son of John (1) and Elizabeth (Curtis) Wells, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1648, and died there, March 24, 1713-14. He married Mary Hollister, daughter of John Hollister.

V. Deacon Thomas (3) Wells, son of John (2) and Mary (Hol-



Wakelee

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

lister) Wells, was born in Stratford, in 1690. He was a prosperous farmer and a prominent member of the church there. He married in Stratford, August 31, 1710, Sarah Stiles, member of an old and honored Connecticut family.

VI. Thomas (4) Wells, son of Deacon Thomas (3) Wells, was born in Stratford, August 20, 1717. He married Sarah Laborie.

VII. Elias Wells, son of Thomas (4) and Sarah (Laborie) Wells, was born in Stratford, November 30, 1756, in the old Wells homestead. He served with the Continental forces during the American Revolution. Elias Wells was a prosperous farmer and well known citizen of Stratford. In religious faith he was an Episcopalian. On August 30, 1781, he married Peninah Wheeler, a descendant of Moses Wheeler, and member of a well known Connecticut family.

VIII. Urania Wells, daughter of Elias and Peninah (Wheeler) Wells, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, November 15, 1784. She became the wife of Noah Plumb, of Trumbull, Connecticut, and mother of the late David Wells Plumb, of Shelton. (See Plumb IX).

(The Wakelee Line).

Wakelee-Wakeley Arms—Gules, a chevron between three crosses crosslet argent, on a chief of the last a stag's head cabossed of the first.

The surname Wakelee, a corruption of the earlier form Wakelin, is of baptismal origin, and signifies literally "the son of Wakelin." It appears as a personal name in the Domesday Book, but as early as the thirteenth century had come into use as a surname, for we find the entry—Andrew Wakelyn—in the Hundred Rolls for County Norfolk. Numerous variations of the name appear in English records, and at a later date in American Colonial records.

The family in America dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, when Henry Wakelee, ancestor of all of the name whose lineage antedates American Independence, settled in Stratford, Connecticut. He became the founder of a family which, though small, has taken an active and prominent part in the life and affairs of Stratford and the surrounding country. Hon. Ebenezer Wakelee, a lineal descendant of Henry Wakelee, for many years a member of the Connecticut Legislature, and a prominent figure in the ranks of the Democratic party, was perhaps the foremost member of his family in the nineteenth century.

Henry Wakelee, immigrant ancestor and progenitor, was one of the first settlers of Stratford, Connecticut, and in all probability one of the original proprietors. The exact date of his coming from England is unknown. He was a resident of Stratford before 1650, however, and held lot No. 15, which would indicate that he was among the first settlers of the town. Henry Wakelee was the son of Richard Wakelee, who was of Haddam, Connecticut, in 1640, and

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

a freeman there in 1669. The son had two lots in Hartford in 1639. On his removal to Stratford land was granted him for "services done by him in & about Mattebeseek, & for some damages he received thereby," and also to settle differences between him and Middletown. He was the first lawyer of record in Hartford, and in 1663 was attorney before the General Court in behalf of his son James, whose case was later withdrawn from court. He married Sarah (Burt) Gregory, daughter of Henry Burt, of Springfield, and widow of John Gregory, and their descendants reside in Fairfield county to the present day.

Gideon Wakelee, a lineal descendant of Henry Wakelee, was a prominent resident of the town of Huntington, Connecticut, a large land owner there, and one of its foremost citizens. He married Lydia Morgan, member of an ancient and influential Connecticut family. Among their children was *Ebenezer*, mentioned below.

Hon. Ebenezer Wakelee, son of Gideon and Lydia (Morgan) Wakelee, was born in Huntington, Connecticut, May 9, 1805. He was educated in local schools, and on completing his studies spent a short period on his father's farm in Huntington. Following his marriage he purchased a large farm in Huntington, and began farming on an extensive scale. At an early date he became interested in public affairs, and for several decades was a recognized and influential leader of the Democratic party in Fairfield county. He held numerous town offices in Huntington, and as selectman, justice of the peace and member of the school committee, rendered a valuable service to the town. In recognition of his fine ability as public servant, his unimpeachable integrity, and his deep interest in the welfare of the town, Huntington elected Ebenezer Wakelee its representative in the Connecticut State Legislature. He filled this office ably and well for several terms, and retired with the honor and respect of his constituents and colleagues. Hon. Ebenezer Wakelee occupied a unique place in the life of Huntington. As one of its largest land owners, and most prosperous farmers, hospitable in the extreme, deeply interested in the town and its people, loving Huntington as the home of his ancestors, he was a vital figure in its affairs. He represented a type which is fast declining—the country squire, whose home was the centre of a bounteous hospitality, where gathered the leaders of business, politics, and the religious life of the community.

Hon. Ebenezer Wakelee married Nancy Dougall Wheeler, in 1833. She was the daughter of Eli and Florilla (Andrews) Wheeler, born in Stratford, January 15, 1814. (See Wheeler VII). Their children were: 1. Frances, widow of Anson H. Blackman, of Stratford. 2. Louise, widow of the late David Wells Plumb, of Shelton. (See Plumb X). Mrs. Plumb was educated in public and private schools in Connecticut. After her marriage, in 1875, Mrs. Plumb





Wheeler

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

removed to Shelton. Here she shared her husband's deep interest in the life and affairs of the town, and was his aid and confidant in the many movements which he inaugurated for the advancement of the welfare of Shelton. A woman of culture and refinement, eschewing ostentation, Mrs. Plumb has spent her life quietly within her home. She has in a measure attempted to fill the loss which Shelton sustained in the death of her husband, and has been liberal in her gifts to local causes. 3. Gideon Morgan, was long prominent in the public life of Huntington, and represented the town in the Legislature in 1875. 4. Elizabeth, deceased: married Julius Coe, of Waterbury. 5-6. Cordelia A., married S. G. Blakeman, of Shelton; Cornelia A., married John A. Coe, deceased, of Waterbury.

Nancy D. (Wheeler) Wakelee died at her home in Huntington, November 6, 1898. Hon. Ebenezer Wakelee died June 24, 1877, aged seventy-two years.

(The Wheeler Line).

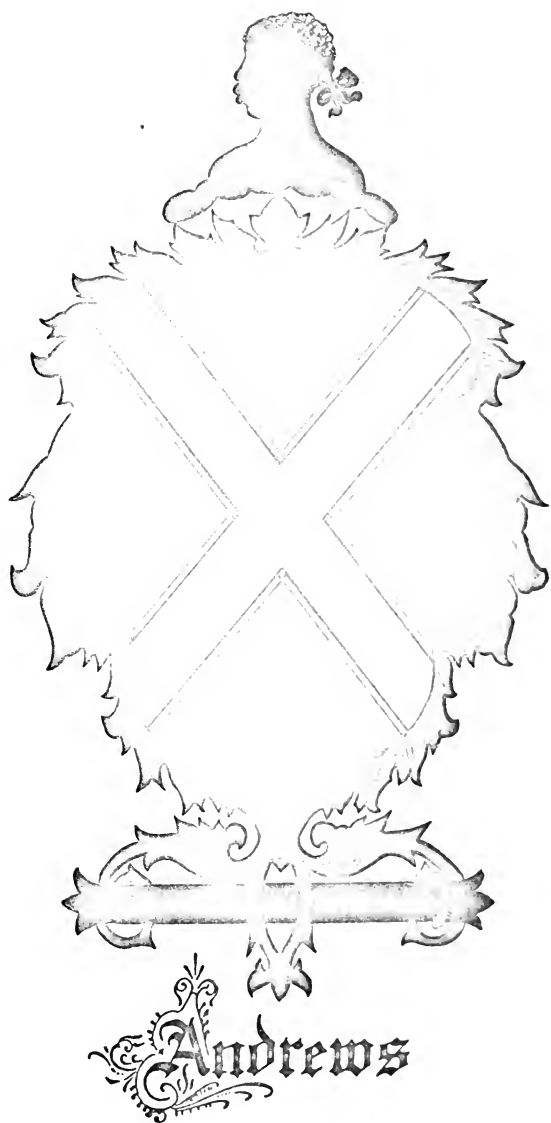
Wheeler Arms—Vert, on a fesse or, three lions rampant of the first.
Crest—Out of a mural crown or a griffin's head argent.

The Wheeler family has figured notably in the history of Connecticut since the earliest years of the New Haven Colony. In 1638, Moses Wheeler, an Englishman of considerable wealth according to the standards of the period, and evidently a man of weight in the community, settled in New Haven, and was among the first to receive an allotment of land. He subsequently settled in Stratford, where he was a leader in public affairs until his death. His descendants have never relinquished the prestige and influence which accrued to the Wheeler name when the colony was in its infancy. Moses Wheeler was the first of the name to settle in Connecticut. Other pioneers followed at a later period, and established families. The descendants of Moses Wheeler, however, have played vital parts in the public, professional and industrial life of Connecticut. The English family, of which Moses Wheeler is said to have been a member, flourished in the County of Kent for four hundred years prior to the American emigration. The surname, which is of the occupative class and signifies literally "the wheelwright," appears in records of as early date as the Hundred Rolls (1273), in which we find the entry "Hugh le Welere," for County Cambridge.

I. *Moses Wheeler*, immigrant ancestor, was born in England, in 1598. He sailed from London in 1638, and on his arrival in New England went directly to the New Haven Colony, where he was one of the first to receive an allotment of land. Here he married Miriam Hawley, sister of Joseph Hawley, also one of the first settlers and one of the foremost men of the colony. He was expelled from the colony in 1648 because of a slight infringement of the Blue Laws, for which the colony was noted. According to tradition he

remained away several months, and returned on Sunday. Forgetting the "Blue Laws" in his joy at his return he kissed his wife and children, and for this crime was again expelled by the authorities. He then joined the little settlement at Stratford, where he purchased a house from the Indians on the shore, near what is now known as Sandy Hollow. Moses Wheeler afterwards bought a large piece of land in the upper part of the town, extending from the river to some distance above the site of the present New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. Here he had a large farm, where he sometimes followed his trade of carpenter. He was given commission by the General Court to keep a ferry at Stratford, which he had already established. Seventeen years later, the town leased the ferry to him with thirty or forty acres of upland adjoining it, for twenty-one years, without tax or rate except sixpence per annum. The inhabitants were "to be ferried over for one-half penny per person and two pence for horse or beast." The town agreed to pay for any improvements he had made if he should leave it at the expiration of his lease. His son's will, proved January 23, 1724-25, shows that he received the ferry from his father, Moses Wheeler, and left it to his own son Nathan, so it remained in the family for at least one hundred years. He disposed of most of his land to his sons ten years before his death. His holdings were very large, and he was one of the foremost men of Stratford. Tradition tells us that Moses Wheeler was a strong, powerful man, of whom the Indians stood in mortal terror. He returned to England in 1665, but returned to Stratford almost immediately because the "Great Plague" was raging in the mother country. He died January 15, 1698, the first white man in New England to attain one hundred years. A rough stone, cut from the rocks at his homestead, marks his grave in the old Congregational church-yard, at Stratford, with the inscription: "Moses Wheeler, Aged 100, Dyed Jan. 15th, 1698." His will was proved on February 19th following. After disposing of his real and personal property, he says: "I give to my daughter Miriam two pewter dishes, to my son Moses, his wife, ye pewter platter, and to my daughter Mary, a bras kittle houlding ten to twelve gallons, the Abridgement of the Marter Booke, and Mr. Brooks His Devices of Satan, and to Elizabeth ye wife of my son Samuel, ye great kittle, and to Mr. Israel Chauncey twenty shillings in silver." Moses and Miriam (Hawley) Wheeler were the parents of six children, of whom Moses, mentioned below, was the fourth child and second son.

II. Moses (2) Wheeler, son of Moses (1) and Miriam (Hawley) Wheeler, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, July 5, 1651. He inherited the ferry from his father, together with the homestead. He removed to the stone house which his father built, and replaced it with a wooden dwelling, which was standing until May 12, 1891,



PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

when it was destroyed by fire. Moses Wheeler was a prosperous farmer and prominent citizen of Stratford, where he died January 30, 1724. He is buried beside his father, with a similar headstone, inscribed as follows: "Here Lays The Body of Mr. Moses Wheeler Who Departed This Life Jan. 30th. 1724, in The 74th. Year of His Age." He was one of the wealthiest men of Stratford, and his estate was inventoried at £1,463 5s. 6d. He bequeathed to his wife five pounds above their marriage agreement; to his son James forty pounds; also to his sons Nathan and Robert, his daughter, and his grandchildren. His son Elnathan or Nathan was made his executor, and inherited all his lands, with the ferry, and all movable goods and personal estate. He married Sarah, daughter of Caleb Nicholls, October 20, 1674. (See Nicholls VII).

III. Nathan Wheeler, son of Moses (2) and Sarah (Nicholls) Wheeler, was born in Stratford, January 31, 1680-81. He married (first) Mary ———, who died February 2, 1713; (second) Mary Stebbins, of Springfield, December 16, 1716; (third) Elizabeth ———, who was born in 1688, died in 1739. He died in 1765 or 1766. His will, dated December 28, 1762, was proved June 2, 1766, and disposes of land to his four sons, giving to Moses land at "White Hills," "Farm Hill," and at "Paul's Pond;" to David land at "Walnut Hill" and "Israel's Hill;" to Moses and David land in New Milford.

IV. Ephraim Wheeler, son of Nathan and Elizabeth Wheeler, was baptized at Stratford, in July, 1723. He was a life-long resident of Stratford, a prosperous land owner, and a leading citizen. He married, March 9, 1743, Sarah Wilcoxson.

V. Captain Samuel Wheeler, son of Ephraim and Sarah (Wilcoxson) Wheeler, was born in Stratford, October 4, 1757. He was a master mariner and captain of a sloop engaged in the coast-wise trade. Captain Wheeler married (first) Sarah Morehouse, June 20, 1776; (second) Hannah Hawley, November 26, 1781. (See Hawley V). Children of first marriage: 1. Samuel, born September 14, 1777. 2. John, born November 28, 1780. Children of second marriage: 3. Sarah, born October, 1782. 4. Betsey, born December 14, 1785, died young. 5. Nancy, born December 17, 1787. 6. David Hawley, born November 10, 1789. 7. Eli, mentioned below. 8. Everett. 9. Hannah, married John Ford. 10. James, married Eunice Dickerman.

VI. Eli Wheeler, son of Captain Samuel and Hannah (Hawley) Wheeler, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, and baptized there August, 1792. He followed agricultural pursuits in Stratford during the greater part of his life, was a prosperous land owner, and one of the leading citizens of the community in his day. Eli Wheeler married Florilla Andrews, in 1813. They were the parents of Nancy Dougall, mentioned below. The Andrews arms are as follows:

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

Arms—Gules, a saltire or, surmounted by another vert.

Crest—A blackmoor's head in profile, couped at the shoulders and wreathed about the temple, all proper.

Motto—*Virtute et fortuna* (By valour and good fortune).

VII. Nancy Dougall Wheeler, daughter of Eli and Florilla (Andrews) Wheeler, was born in Stratford, January 15, 1814. She was given the best educational advantages which Stratford afforded, and on completing her studies taught for a short period in the local schools. She was a brilliant student, and an able teacher. A woman of culture and refinement, she filled an honored and influential place in the conservative society of the Stratford of her day. In 1833, Nancy Dougall Wheeler became the wife of Ebenezer Wakelee, of Huntington, Connecticut. (See Wakelee). She was the mother of six children, of whom Louise, widow of the late David Wells Plumb, of Shelton, was the second. Mrs. Wakelee died November 6, 1898, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Plumb, and was buried in Riverside Cemetery, Shelton.

(The Morgan Line).

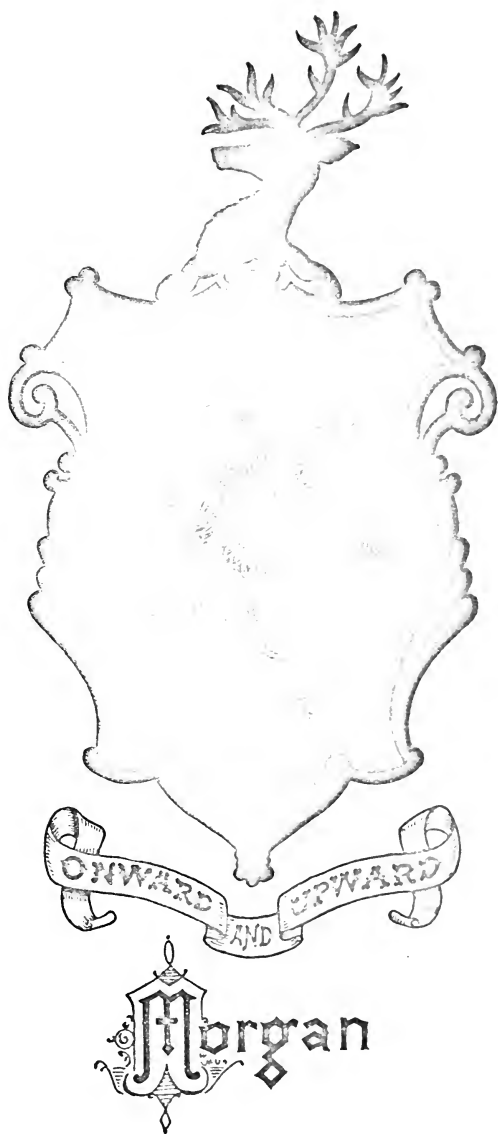
Morgan Arms—Or, a griffin segreant sable.

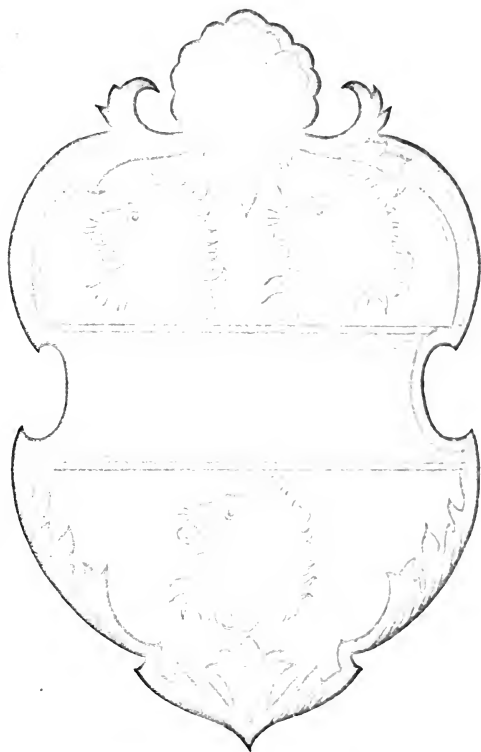
Crest—A reindeer's head couped or, attired gules.

Motto—Onward and upward.

The Morgans of Connecticut gave to America her most noted financier, the late John Pierpont Morgan. Men of the name have figured notably in American history since the time of the founding of the family in New England, in 1636, by James Morgan. Daniel Morgan, famous Virginian soldier of the American Revolution, was a member of this family, as were also Edwin Dennison Morgan, merchant and philanthropist (1811-83); John Hunt Morgan (1825-64); and Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-81), noted ethnologist.

James Morgan, the founder of the family in America, was born in Landaff, Glamorgan county, Wales, but the family appears to have removed to Bristol, England, before 1636. The name of his father is unknown, but there is some traditionary evidence that it was William. In March, 1636, he and two younger brothers, John and Miles, sailed from Bristol and arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, in April following. John Morgan, who appears to have been a high churchman, soon left for the more congenial society of Virginia. Miles Morgan settled in Springfield. James Morgan settled in Roxbury before 1640, and lived there for ten years or more. He was admitted a freeman, May 10, 1643, and early in 1650 was granted land at Pequot, later New London, Connecticut. Shortly afterward he removed there, and occupied a homestead on the path to New street, (now Ashcraft street) near the present third burial ground in the western suburbs of the city. He continued to occupy this homestead on the path to New street or Cape Ann





Nichols

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

lane, as it was called, in honor of the Cape Ann Company, which chiefly settled there, until about March, 1657. He sold his homestead, however, in December, 1656, and removed with others across the river to sites granted him in the present town of Groton. That town and Ledyard, set off in 1836, have been the home of his descendants to the present day. He was a large land owner and a dealer in land; distinguished in public enterprises. James Morgan was often employed by the town in land surveys, establishing highways, determining boundaries, adjusting civil difficulties as a magistrate, etc. He was one of the townsmen or selectmen of New London, and one of the first deputies to the General Court at Hartford (May, 1657), and was nine times afterward re-elected to the office. In 1661 he was one of a committee to lay out the bounds of New London. He was on a committee to seat the meeting house, a difficult task, because the seating determined the social standing of all the people. The spot where he built his house in Groton in 1657, and where he resided until his death, is three miles from the Groton ferry, on the road to Poquonoc bridge. The house and property still remain in the hands of his lineal descendants.

James Morgan married, August 6, 1640, Margery Hill, of Roxbury. Through them descend the Morgans of Connecticut, and numerous branches of the family throughout the country.

Lydia Morgan, wife of Gideon Wakelee, of Huntington, and grandmother of Mrs. David Wells Plumb, of Shelton, was a lineal descendant of James Morgan.

(The Nichols-Nicholls Line).

Nichols Arms—Azure, a fesse between three lions' heads erased or.

Nieuw Amsterdam, passing from Dutch to English domination, its name changed to New York in honor of the English Duke of York, had for its first governor under the new regime, Sir Richard Nichols, a titled and distinguished Englishman, who after three years in the New World returned to the mother country in 1667. He established the first Episcopal church in New York. Under the command of James, Duke of York, he commanded the fleet that took New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664 and renamed it New York. His brother, Francis Nichols, founder of the famous Connecticut family of the name, had preceded him to the New England Colonies, and as early as 1639 had made his permanent home in Stratford. It is with the Stratford Nichols that this article is to deal.

The family in England is one of great antiquity and prominence. The surname is one of the earliest of English surnames and is found in records of as ancient date as the Hundred Rolls. It signifies literally "the son of Nicholas."

I. Robert Nichols, of London, the first of the direct line to whom

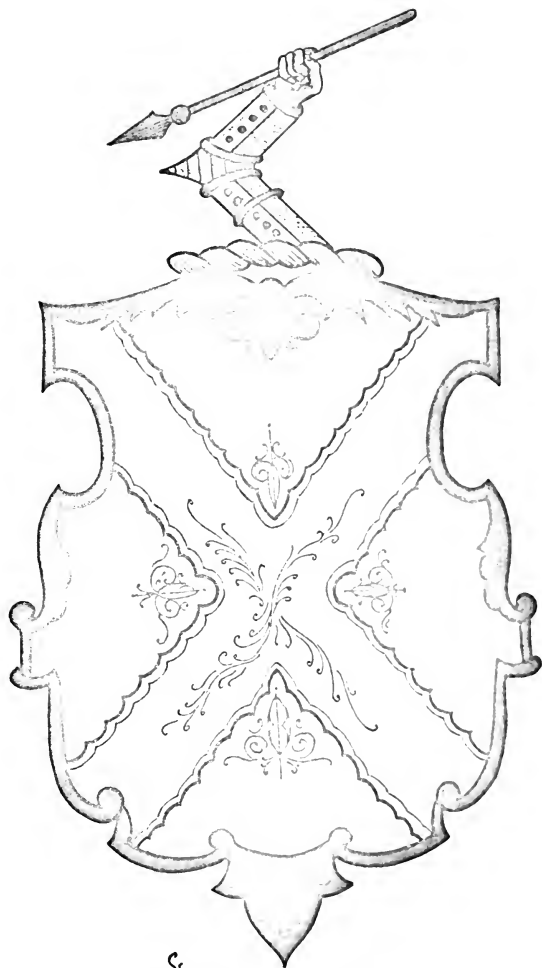
PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

it has been possible to trace, was the owner of a mansion in London, and of extensive estates in different parts of the kingdom. He died in 1648, and his will, which mentions three sons and his grandson Robert, was proved June 20, of that year. He married Elizabeth or Isabel ———.

II. Thomas Nichols, eldest son of Robert Nichols, married Elizabeth Popplewell, and died in 1561, leaving real estate in various parishes in London, Tottenhall Court, and other places, to his sons. Besides family legacies, he bequeathed one hundred pounds each to the four hospitals in London, and made gifts to numerous other charities.

III. Antony Nichols, son of Thomas Nichols, married Mary Waldron, of Say, Somerset county. On the monument of his daughter Elizabeth, he is mentioned as living in Paddington, now a part of London.

IV. Francis Nichols, son of Antony and Mary (Waldron) Nichols, married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Bruce, of Carnock, who was a son of Robert Bruce. Edward Bruce, father of Robert Bruce, was born in 1565, son of Sir Robert Bruce. He was a son of Sir David Bruce, who was born in 1497; the line traces backward through Sir David Bruce; Sir David Bruce; Sir Robert Bruce; Sir Edward Bruce; Robert Bruce, of Clackmanan, son of King Robert Bruce, of Scotland, who was born in 1334. In 1613 the custody of the Great Park at Amptill in Bedfordshire was granted to Sir George Bruce, Margaret (Bruce) Nichols' father, the honor of Amptill being vested in the Crown. Under this arrangement the Nichols family for many years leased Great Park from the Bruces, and lived at the Great Lodge or Capitol Mansion. Francis Nichols is called in the pedigree of 1628, of the Middle Temple, one of the Squires of the Bath. He was buried at Amptill, about forty miles from London. The will of his wife Margaret was dated April 20, 1651; William Nichols, dean of Chester, and her "ancient servant," Thomas Greene, alias Hodson, were executors: she bequeathed all to her son Francis. The will of Sir William Craford, Knight, of the Beckerings Park, Bedfordshire, dated February 24, 1634, proved May 28, 1636, and filed in the Prerogative Court, Canterbury, England, bequeaths "To Margaret Bruce, wife of Francis Nicholls, 50 pounds. Francis Nicholls, Esq., now in the Indies, 150 pounds." The children of Francis and Margaret (Bruce) Nichols were: 1. Edward, born before 1600: held military office under the Royalist regime; he was forced to flee the country under the Commonwealth and never returned; died in Paris. 2. Francis, mentioned below. 3. Bruce, a daughter, married John Frecheville (baron), of Stavely, Derby, and died in 1629. 4. Richard, governor of New York in 1664, returned to England in 1667. 5. William, died young.



Hawley

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

V. Sergeant Francis (2) Nicholls, son of Francis (1) Nichols, (or Nicholls) Sr., and Margaret Bruce, his wife, was born in England before 1600. He emigrated in 1635, and was among the first settlers of Stratford, Connecticut, where he was living as early as 1639. He had military training, and was a member of the Horse Guards in London prior to his coming to America. In 1639 he was chosen to train and exercise the men of Stratford in military discipline. Francis Nicholls subsequently removed to Westchester county, New York. He was also an extensive land owner in Southhold, Long Island, where he married Anna, daughter of Deacon Barnabas Wines. His estate was distributed among his children before his death, in 1650.

VI. Caleb Nicholls, son of Sergeant Francis (2) Nicholls, came to Stratford with his father in 1639. About 1650 he married Ann Warde, daughter of Andrew and Esther (Sherman) Warde, of Fairfield. Until 1670 he lived at Stratford, and then removed to Woodbury, Connecticut, although he kept his proprietary rights at Stratford. In his will he left his plantation at Woodbury to his wife and children. Caleb Nicholls was prominent in civil life in Stratford, and held the office of "Townsmen" or selectman often. In 1661, when a selectman with Samuel Sherman and John Hurd, Esquires, he purchased from the Indians, for the inhabitants of Stratford, a large tract of land.

VII. Sarah Nicholls, daughter of Caleb and Ann (Warde) Nicholls, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, December 1, 1651. She married, October 20, 1674, Moses (2) Wheeler, of Stratford. (See Wheeler II).

(The Hawley Line).

Arms—Vert, a saltire engrailed argent.

Crest—A dexter arm embowed in armour proper, garnished or, holding in the hand a spear pointing downwards, also proper.

The surname Hawley is inscribed on the famous Roll of Battle Abbey, compiled by the Norman knights of William the Conqueror, following the battle of Hastings, A. D. 1066. The family has been prominent in Derbyshire since the beginning of the thirteenth century; the Hawleys have been large land holders, and in numerous branches entitled to bear arms.

The American branch is an offshoot of the ancient Derbyshire family, and comprises the progeny of three brothers of the name who settled in New England prior to the middle of the seventeenth century. Joseph Hawley, founder of the well known Connecticut family, was a proprietor of Stratford as early as 1650, and the founder there of a large and influential family which has taken a vital part in the life of the community for over two hundred and fifty years.

PLUMB AND ALLIED FAMILIES

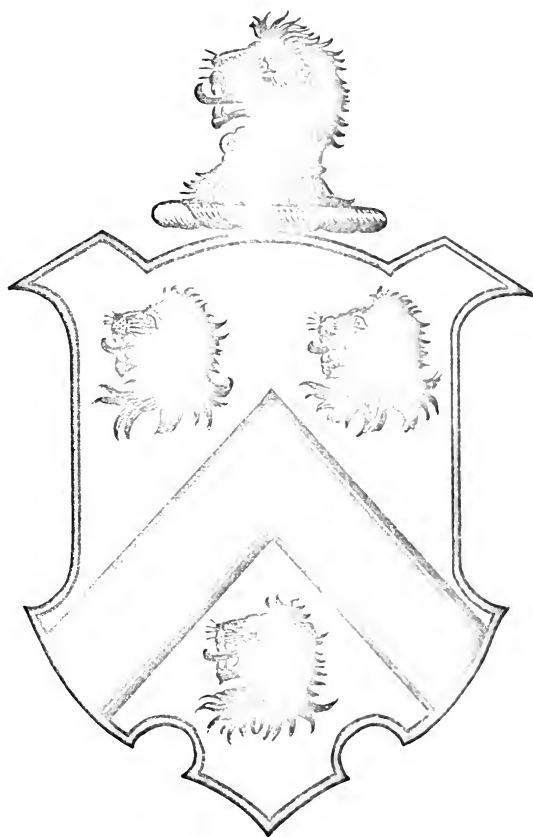
I. Joseph Hawley, immigrant ancestor and progenitor, was a native of Derbyshire, England. The exact date of his coming to America is unknown. As early as 1650, however, he was one of the proprietors of Stratford. In that year or perhaps shortly before, he purchased from Richard Miles, Lot No. 37, where he made his home until his death. From time to time he received grants of land from the town, and a share in the division of common lands. Evidently a man of education and ability, he rose rapidly to a position of prominence in public affairs. From 1650 to 1666 he was the town recorder of Stratford. He represented the town in the Connecticut General Court thirty times in thirty-three years. Joseph Hawley was more than usually active as a business man. He purchased of the Indians a large tract of land in Derby, which town allowed him to retain the old Indian planting ground, and another tract which adjoined it, including the "Great Hill." Stratford tradition states that he married Catherine Birdseye, a niece of John Birdseye, of New Haven and Wethersfield. Joseph Hawley stands out prominently in the early history of Stratford. His descendants have been among the leading families of Connecticut for several generations. In his will, Joseph Hawley bequeaths land at Parwich, Derbyshire, England, to his son Samuel.

II. Samuel Hawley, son of Joseph and Catherine (Birdseye) Hawley, was born in 1647, and died in 1734. He was a prominent resident of Stratford, where he married (first) in 1673, Mary Thompson, daughter of Thomas and Ann (Wills) Thompson, of Farmington, Connecticut; she died in 1691, and he married (second) Patience Hall, daughter of "Widow Hall."

III. Matthew Hawley, son of Samuel and Mary (Thompson) Hawley, was born in Stratford, Connecticut, November 7, 1680. He was a life long resident of Stratford and a prosperous farmer there. The name of his wife is not known.

IV. Matthew (2) Hawley, son of Matthew (1) Hawley, was born in Stratford, February 16, 1720, and died there May 31, 1790, aged seventy years. He married Bethia ———, who was born March 19, 1725, and died January 24, 1786.

V. Hannah Hawley, daughter of Matthew (2) and Bethia Hawley, married on November 26, 1781, in Stratford, Captain Samuel Wheeler. (See Wheeler V).



Allerton

Allerton Family

Allerton Arms—Argent a chevron between three lions' heads erased sable.
Crest—A lion's head sable, collared or.



THE surname Allerton is of ancient English origin, and is derived from two local sources—one the parish of Allerton, in Yorkshire; and the other the township of Allerton, in the parish of Kippax, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. From either of these two localities the progenitors of the Allertons of England and America sprang. The family has never been large, and because of this fact has maintained its identity through the successive centuries since the time of its founding. The first record of the name in early English registers occurs in the year 1379, in the Poll Tax of Yorkshire, when we find mention of Willelmus de Allirton.

The Allertons of America, who trace their lineage to the Colonial period, are the descendants of Isaac Allerton, one of the Mayflower company, and fifth signer of the Compact. "Mr." Allerton, as Plymouth records designate him, was a man of excellent birth, a prosperous merchant of high standing in London, whose consummate business genius was badly needed among the religious enthusiasts of early Plymouth, and whose ministrations in London after the founding of the little colony were the means of establishing its right to the land on which it settled. Religious leaders were numerous in Plymouth, but there was no other man in all the colony so well fitted by long experience and association with men of influence in London to transact the business affairs of the colony, as was Isaac Allerton. Few historians have recognized the importance of the part he played, nor is it apparent to the casual reader. Nevertheless it was one of vital moment to early Plymouth. The descendants of Isaac Allerton have been a rugged, capable stock, who have left the imprint of their lives on the communities which they have made their homes. The branch herein under consideration is that of Samuel Waters Allerton, whose death in Chicago, Illinois, on February 22, 1914, removed one of the foremost figures in business and financial circles in the Middle West in the last half century.

I. Mr. Isaac Allerton, the founder, was born in England between the years 1583-85. He was a member of the Pilgrim company at Leyden, Holland, and in 1620 was one of those chosen to found the Pilgrim company in New England. He was one of the wealth-

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iest of the little band in Holland and one of its leaders, being one of the three on whom the Dutch conferred citizenship. He was one of the Mayflower Company in 1620, and was the fifth signer of the Mayflower Compact. On the records of Plymouth Colony the honorable prefix "Mr." is always added to his name, which fact in itself, without the evidence of the position of importance which he held in the early colony, is proof of the fact that he was a man of large influence whose voice was an important one in the councils of the Pilgrims. Shortly after the arrival of the company he, with Captain Miles Standish, negotiated a peace with Massasoit which held for fifty years. He received numerous grants of land, and during his early years at Plymouth engaged in building houses and shelters for the company, and in clearing his land. In 1621 he was chosen Assistant Governor of Plymouth Colony, holding the office until 1624. In 1626 he was sent to England by the colonists, as Bradford in his journal says, as "being well qualified by education and experience and having the confidence of the merchants of London." He arranged there for the sale of Plymouth to the Pilgrims, and without doubt his excellent work was responsible for the further existence of the colony. At the same time the trade of the colony was bound to William Bradford, Isaac Allerton, and others, who assumed the entire indebtedness at Plymouth Colony to the London merchants. Mr. Isaac Allerton subsequently engaged in coastwise trade with Maine, New Amsterdam, and Virginia, which, however extensive it may have been, was not highly successful or lucrative.

As a man in constant touch with the large business interests of London, moving in a circle of the foremost merchants of the time in England, of broad education and culture, Mr. Isaac Allerton was essentially liberal in his views of life and religion. In this he differed constantly with the narrow minds of Plymouth, and in 1636, disgusted with the intolerance which he encountered, he went to New Amsterdam, where he was well received. Here in 1643 he became a member of the Council of Governor Kieft. In this year he suffered many misfortunes. While in New Amsterdam he carried on a trade with Virginia and the West Indies, making frequent voyages to both places. In 1646 he returned to New England, settling in New Haven, where he remained until his death in 1659. Isaac Allerton married (first) in Leyden, Holland, November 4, 1611, Mary Morris, of Newbury, England, who died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, February 25, 1621. He married (second) in 1626, Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster; she died in 1634. Isaac Allerton is buried in the Old Burying Ground in New Haven.

II. Isaac (2) Allerton, son of Isaac and Fear (Brewster) Allerton, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1630. He was a grad-

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uate of Harvard College in the class of 1650, and on completing his studies accompanied his father on voyages between Plymouth, New Haven, New Amsterdam and Virginia, and was associated with him in the coasting business. As early as the year 1655 he purchased land at Wicomico, Northumberland county, Virginia, whither he removed after the death of his wife in New Haven, in 1660. He became a prominent figure in the life of the county, and was made one of the justices of the county, on April 22, 1663; he was made a member of the "Committee of the Association of Northumberland, Westmoreland and Stafford Counties," November 1, 1667. In September, 1675, he held the rank of major, second in command to Colonel John Washington, of Virginia forces against the Indians. In 1676-77 he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and continued prominent in Virginia life and affairs until his death in 1702. His will, dated October 25, 1702, was proved December 30 of the same year. Isaac Allerton married in 1652, Elizabeth ———, and made his home in New Haven, Connecticut, until her death in 1660.

III. Isaac (3) Allerton, son of Isaac (2) and Elizabeth Allerton, was born in New Haven, June 11, 1655. He accompanied his father to Virginia when a child, but about 1683 returned to New Haven and resided there and in Norwich, Connecticut, until the closing years of his life. Late in life he removed to Coventry, Rhode Island. Isaac (3) Allerton was a farmer on an extensive scale, and a successful business man. He served in the Indian Wars.

IV. John Allerton, son of Isaac (3) Allerton, was born in New Haven, about 1685. He removed to Norwich in 1711-12, and was one of the first selectmen of the town in 1721. He removed from Norwich to Warwick, Rhode Island, where he became a freeman, in May, 1739. On August 3, 1741, the west end of the town of Warwick became Coventry, and in May, 1742, John Allerton became a freeman there. He died in Coventry, in 1750, and his widow, Elizabeth, subsequently removed with her daughter, who was the wife of a Mr. Sweet, to New York State.

V. Isaac (4) Allerton, son of John and Elizabeth Allerton, was born in Norwich, Connecticut, August 15, 1725. He resided at Canterbury, and Plainfield, Connecticut, where he was a builder and contractor, conducting this business in conjunction with farming. He was prosperous, and a man of considerable wealth prior to the American Revolution. He was an ardent patriot, and supported the Continental cause so liberally, taking in exchange for his debts the paper money of the period, that at the close of the war he was ruined financially. He lost his property, and to recoup his losses removed to Amenia, Dutchess county, New York, in 1792, founding a branch of the New England Allertons there. He died there, December 26, 1807.

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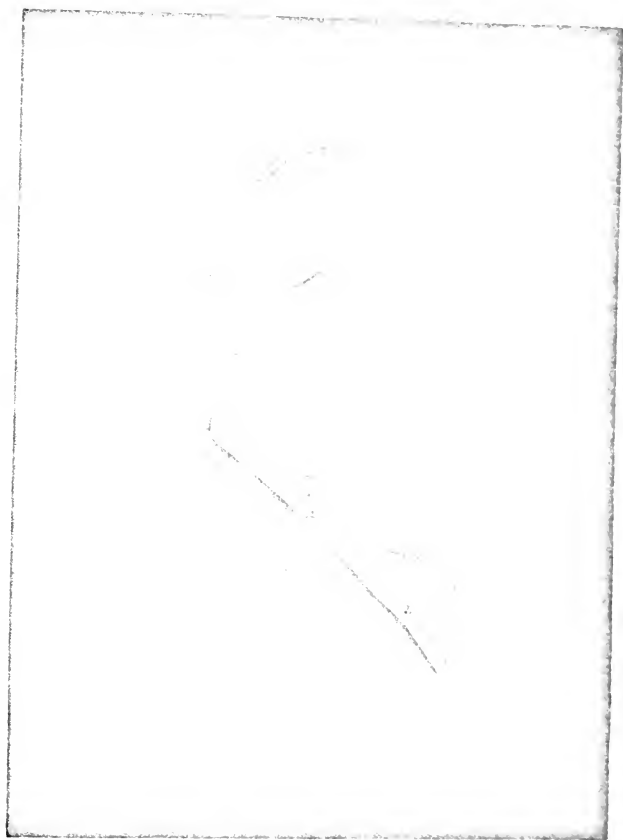
Isaac Allerton possessed many heirlooms and relies of the Mayflower Company and the early Plymouth Colony, among them a broad-axe, and a fuzee-gun, taken in battle from an Indian warrior. These were lost after his death, but the tradition remains in the family. He married, about 1745, Lucy Spaulding, daughter of Philip and Ann (Cleveland) Spaulding, who survived him until 1813.

VI. Dr. Reuben Allerton, son of Isaac (4) and Lucy (Spaulding) Allerton, was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, December 25, 1753. He was well educated, and studied medicine under Dr. Fitch, of New Haven, and surgery under Dr. Spaulding, of Norwich, Connecticut. He became a recognized leader in the medical profession in Connecticut in his day. Dr. Reuben Allerton was an early settler in the town of Amenia, New York, where in 1787 he purchased the farm of Abner Gillet. He established himself in practice there in 1778. In 1785 he removed to Oblong, where he lived in the John Reed house. Later he returned to South Amenia, where he resided until his death. Dr. Allerton was a surgeon in the American Revolution, serving under Colonel Hopkins in the 6th Regiment in 1777. He took part with his regiment in the battle of Saratoga. Some of his surgical instruments are still in the possession of his descendants.

On September 1, 1778, he married, in Sharon, Connecticut, Lois Atherton, who was born in 1757, in Newton, New Jersey, daughter of John and Lucy (Sawyer) Atherton, of Sharon, Connecticut.

VII. Samuel Waters Allerton, son of Dr. Reuben and Lois (Atherton) Allerton, was born at Amenia, Dutchess county, New York, December 5, 1785. He studied for the medical profession, but abandoned his studies and learned the tailor's trade, becoming a successful merchant tailor. In 1828 he was one of the stockholders and owners of a woolen factory, which was ruined in 1833 by the reduction of the protective tariff by the Democratic administration. In 1837, in an effort to restore his fortune he went to Iowa. Here he became ill, however, and was forced to return home, practically penniless. He retained a respected and honored position in the town, however, and for several years was a trustee of the Presbyterian church of Amenia, although he was of the Universalist faith. He was deputy sheriff of Dutchess county for three years. In 1842, Mr. Allerton removed to Yates county, New York, and in 1848 to Wayne county, where he purchased a farm and where he resided until his death, on August 10, 1885, at the venerable age of 99 years and eight months. He was a man of sterling integrity and hardy virtues, of the type we think of as the true New Englander.

He married, March 26, 1808, Hannah Hurd, who was born in South Dover, Dutchess county, New York, daughter of Ebenezer and Rebecca (Phillips) Hurd. They were the parents of nine chil-



Samuel W. Allerton

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dren, of whom the late Samuel Waters Allerton (q. v.) and his sister, Lois J. Allerton, were the youngest.

VIII. Miss Lois J. Allerton is the only living member of this large family. She was born January 26, 1826, was given excellent educational advantages, and at the age of fourteen years began to teach school. Remaining with her parents, Miss Allerton retired from the teaching profession, and devoted herself to the care of her mother and father until the latter's death at the venerable age of over ninety-nine years. She has been exceptionally successful in business ventures, and has accumulated a large fortune. Miss Allerton is a gifted cellist. For more than half a century she has been a well known and active figure in the life of Newark, and in her ninety-fourth year (1920) is still influential in local affairs, moving in the conservative old social circles of the town. She is a member of the Universalist church.

VIII. Samuel Waters (2) Allerton, son of Samuel Waters (1) and Hannah (Hurd) Allerton, was born in Amenia, Dutchess county, New York, May 26, 1828. His career as a business man and financier of Chicago in the closing decades of the Nineteenth Century places him among the foremost figures of that period of the city's history. The record of his early life reveals the constant struggle and unceasing labor of farm life, but in the grinding toil on an unproductive farm he laid the foundations on which he built his subsequent success in the business world. He learned the value of hard work, and to the closing years of his life he was essentially a worker.

Samuel W. Allerton was the youngest of a family of nine children, and was but seven years of age when his father failed in business. At the age of twelve years he became self-supporting, and while yet a boy was thrust on life with the responsibilities of a man. In 1842 he removed with his parents to Yates county, New York, where they remained only long enough, however, to partially recoup their losses. The family then bought the Wayne county farm, and Mr. Allerton joined his brother Henry Allerton in renting a farm on which they made fifteen hundred dollars. This sum they gave in partial payment for the farm in Wayne county, assuming an indebtedness of three thousand dollars. Mr. Allerton then rented a farm on which he was able through the closest working to save thirty-two hundred dollars. With this capital he went to Newark, where he worked with his brothers on their farm, and also traded in live stock to some extent. On abandoning this enterprise, Mr. Allerton went to Albany, where he disposed of his live stock at a considerable profit. Returning to Newark, he found himself the owner of a third interest in the farm, then free of all indebtedness, and in three thousand dollars. The brothers divided their interests, Mr. Allerton taking the cash capital, and starting out independently. At the

end of his first venture, the sale of cattle in New York, his sales amounted to seven hundred dollars. He continued in this business for several years, and within a short period developed it far beyond its original limits, just before his removal to the West making a sale in New York which netted him three thousand dollars.

Around this period he heard the call of the West, and with the optimism of youth saw only the golden promise of a land teeming with untried resources. He joined the tide of emigration, and for a year engaged in raising and feeding cattle in Fulton county, Illinois, but like hundreds of others he was the victim of the financial panic which swept the country shortly afterward. Broken in finances and in health, but still buoyant in spirits, he returned to the East, and with his brother engaged in merchandising in Newark, New York, until, no longer able to stand the narrowness of outlook and the confinement of the life, he disposed of his interests in the store and, borrowing five thousand dollars, returned to Fulton county, Illinois, whence in 1860 he removed to Chicago.

Mr. Allerton began his operations in Chicago as a wholesale dealer in live stock at that period of the city's history when it had no bank, and he watched its expansion from struggling infancy to the place which it now occupies in American life and affairs. He bought his first cattle shipment in the old Merriek yards on Cottage Grove avenue, and since the city had no bank, was dependent for money on express shipments from New York. In May, 1860, upon sharp decline of prices, he cornered the market by buying every hog in Chicago. He was at that time alone in the city, and it was difficult for him to obtain money. Three telegrams, one from his own bank and two from New York, however, were regarded as sufficient security by Aiken & Morgan, bankers, to secure him a loan at one per cent. interest, and the profit which accrued from that deal constituted the foundation of his fortune. Moreover, the experience brought to him a recognition of the need and value of union stock yards and better banking facilities in Chicago, and he set to work to accomplish both. In the '60s there were three stock yards in Chicago. In 1863 he joined with John B. Sherman in the agitation of a proposition to combine the interests, and that their labors were fruitful is indicated in the fact that the Union Stock Yards were organized in 1866. Shortly thereafter Mr. Allerton rose to a position of recognized leadership in the industry, not only in Chicago, but in the other centres of the Middle West and the East. He also became interested in the stock yards at Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Jersey City (New York stockyards), St. Joseph and Omaha. For many years he was president of the Allerton Packing Company. His early experience with the banks of Chicago led to his efforts for the establishment of the first Chicago bank under the national banking law, and he became one of the orig-

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inal directors of the First National Bank, in which he held large interests until his death. Despite the great demands which his widely diversified Chicago interests made upon his time, Mr. Allerton never lost his early love for agriculture, and on his vast farming properties he found not only recreation but an avocation. At one time his holdings comprised eleven thousand acres in the Mississippi Valley, including farm land in Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, Nebraska and Wyoming. He was the owner of nine thousand acres near Monticello, Illinois, known as "The Farms," which is one of the model live-stock farms of the world, now the property of his son. The manor house on this vast estate is modeled after the typical residence of the English country gentleman, and although every acre is tilled to perfection, fine horses, cattle and hogs, are the chief sources of revenue. Mr. Allerton took great pride and delight in his beautiful summer home at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. His winter residence in California was an old Spanish mission building, converted into a quaint yet elegant home in the style of the period in which it was built.

Every phase of the development and growth of the city of Chicago interested him, and to his constant efforts in behalf of civic welfare Chicago owes much. After watching the workings of the cable street car company in San Francisco in 1880, he used his influence as a stockholder in the South Side Traction System for the establishment of a similar system in Chicago, inducing Superintendent Holmes to investigate its merits. The result was the introduction of the cable by all the street railway lines in the city. Mr. Allerton was until his death a director of the Chicago City Railway Company. From the time of the founding of the First National Bank in 1863 until his death, he was one of its directors; and was also a director of the First Trust and Savings Bank, the National Safe Deposit Company, the Weaver Coal and Coke Company, and the North Waukegan Harbor and Dock Company, and vice-president of the Art Marble Company.

His gifts to charitable causes throughout his life were large, many of them, however, were made quietly as worthy causes presented themselves to him. One of the most notable of his larger gifts was the establishment, in conjunction with the late Henry E. Weaver, of the St. Charles Home for Boys. He was a Republican in political affiliation, deeply interested in local and national issues, but in no sense of the word an office-seeker. Mr. Allerton was one of the directors of the World's Columbian Exposition. He was widely known in club and social life in Chicago, and was a member of the Calumet, Union League, Washington Park, Chicago Golf and Marquette clubs. Americana, historical and genealogical research, interested him deeply, and he was one of the founders of the Illinois Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. He was also

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a member of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, tracing his descent through eight generations from Isaac Allerton, founder of the family in New England.

A man of simple tastes, who, despite the vigorous character of his business life, had lived a life ordered according to the law of nature, Mr. Allerton died February 22, 1914, having attained the venerable age of sixty-six years, marked by the passing of his contemporaries, the founders of Chicago's great industries, the Armours, Morrisses, Pullmans, Swifts, Palmers and Fields, and he saw the advent of the younger generations launching even greater ventures than their fathers. He was a veritable store-house of Chicago history, written and unwritten. To the time of his death he was a dominant, well-loved figure in Chicago life, a venerated patriarch whose passing was sincerely mourned. By reason of a democratic manner, a keen human understanding and sympathy, he drew to him as friends men from all walks of life. Many he helped establish a footing on the ladder of success, many he advised and counselled. In business life he was the keen sagacious leader who might be safely followed in all things, who might be trusted in all things. He was a gentleman of the old-school, courtly in his manners, chivalrous and kindly in all his dealings with men. His death was deeply and sincerely mourned in Chicago.

Samuel W. Allerton married (first) in Peoria, Illinois, in 1861, Pamilla M. Thompson, daughter of Astor C. and Berinthia (Eggleton) Thompson. Astor C. Thompson was born in Newburg, New York, son of Robert and Agnes (Libby) Thompson, and of Scotch-Irish descent. His wife was of Huguenot ancestry. Mr. and Mrs. Allerton were the parents of two children: 1. Kate Reinette, born June 10, 1863; married (first) the late Dr. Sidney Papin; (second) Hugo R. Johnstone; their children are: i. Allerton Johnstone, born December 25, 1900; ii. Vanderburgh Johnstone, born January 6, 1903. 2. Robert Henry, born March 20, 1873; succeeded his father in many of the latter's business interests, and now supervises his extensive property. Mr. Allerton married (second) Agnes C. Thompson, sister of his first wife, on March 15, 1882. Mrs. Allerton is widely known and eminently respected in social life in Chicago, and in South Pasadena, California, between which cities she divides her time. On the death of her husband, Mrs. Allerton took over the management of the greater part of his huge interests, and has proved herself a business woman of extraordinary acumen and ability. For the handling of her business interests, Mrs. Allerton maintains an office in the First National Bank Building in Chicago. Her Chicago residence is on Astor street; she spends the summer months at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, at her home, "The Folly." Mrs. Allerton is a woman of exceptional mentality, thoroughly conversant with the business world and with the spirit of the times. She

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is deeply interested in history, heraldry, genealogy, and kindred subjects. On her California home in South Pasadena, Mrs. Allerton has lavished every care of a beauty-loving nature, and has indulged her hobby, the cultivation of all flowers, but more especially the growing of roses in infinite variety.



Editorial

OF PECULIAR INTEREST

Some months ago appeared in this magazine a narrative relating to the Hampton (Virginia) Institute, founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a man of noble spirit, for the education of Indians and Negroes. This was followed in a later issue by some account of famous old William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Virginia, whence came many of the foremost figures of the Revolutionary period, and a host of later-day prominence. In the present number appears the history of another educational institution, unique in scope and conduct, and standing out prominently as an exemplification of what can be accomplished through the effort of a single man of devoted purpose, such a rare personality as that old-time minister and educator, Gideon Blackburn. The College which he founded and which bears his name may in a large way be accepted as a type of many institutions of learning throughout the country which fill a field of their own (as also do the two hereinbefore named), supplying a special need, or the needs of thousands of youth without means or desire to enter the greater ones. With possibly few exceptions, such as are thus instanced are almost entirely dependent for their support upon the tuition fees received from their students, and their deservings would suggest the desirability of their being made sharers in the munificent gifts bestowed from time to time by wealthy philanthropists upon educational causes. The article to which reference is here made, from the pen of the Rev. Duncan J. McMillan, D. D., who has established various academies and colleges in the Far West, suggests a very strong argument along these lines.

Also, on other pages of this magazine is told the story of a famous quartette of brothers who rendered service to their country during the War for the Union, two of them distinguishing themselves by unusual feats of daring.

These two general subjects point to the desirability of contributions along similar lines. There are many educational institutions

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throughout the land the story of whose founding, or the special field which they occupy, would be of wide interest. On the other side, there are characters and incidents of the World War which should be committed to print before the passing away of those who are conversant with the individuals and circumstances. Contributions under both these heads are invited by the editor.

LITERARY NOTES

The "Yale Review" for January has a number of most excellent and timely contributions, timely for the reason that they discuss questions growing immediately out of recent events, all out of the ordinary. "Germany Since the Revolution," is by Dr. Richard Grelling, who as the author of "J'Accuse" became world-famous as the first German to publicly arraign his country for its precipitation of the World War. From this article may be quoted the following painful foreboding:

The German people, so far as can be foreseen—and I am forced to acknowledge it with the deepest sorrow—will not awake until it is too late. Just as the old imperial Germany of 1914 slept through four years of war and awoke only at the defeat, so the republican Germany of to-day will slumber until the flourish of trumpets of the new militarism announces to it the downfall of all that has been painfully won by the revolution. Then will follow a Titanic combat between the military caste and the proletariat, wherein the great mass of the bourgeoisie, again as in 1918, will take no active part. Unhappy Germany will be devoured by an internecine war such as the world has not yet seen. Then will come the political and economic disaster, already showing its grinning death's head, which will carry down with it all that is still standing. From this supreme misfortune may some kind fate save my people! But, if they are to be saved, immediate action must be taken.

The same number of "The Review" contains a paper by Rev. W. R. Inge, Dean of St. Paul's, on "Religion in England After the War," and which reveals some conditions that find somewhat of an analogy in our own country. "Women in the Election," by A. Maurice Low (the chief American correspondent of the London "Morning Post," and who attended both of the recent presidential nominating conventions), essays an analysis of the feminine mind

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as it displayed itself in its first great political effort in the election which followed. In the conclusions which he draws therefrom, he opines that the woman voter "will always be an uncertain element in politics, because she not only loves change—otherwise there would be no new fashions—but she will be responsive to the promptings of her morality. . . . For woman is by nature a reformer; and not only is she a reformer, but she is an honest reformer, whose instinct is nearly always right."

Other articles in "The Review" of special interest, but by no means exhausting the array, are: "The Masterful Puritan," by Agnes Repplier; "Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa," by W. E. Clarke; "An Unknown Poet" of two hundred and fifty-odd years ago, by John Drinkwater, the creator of the stage "Abraham Lincoln;" "The Permanent Utility of Dialect," by Brander Matthews; and "The Problem of the American Negro," by Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology in Columbia University, who is author of "The Mind of Primitive Man" and other works in this field. As usual, the book reviews are of great interest.

The Harmon Genealogy, Comprising All Branches in New England; compiled and edited by Artemas C. Harmon, Washington, D. C., and published by him, 1920; pages 280, with ample indices; \$10 postpaid.

This work is a most complete history of the Harmon family, and had its foundation in the initial work of a number of family historians a half century ago, and which has been compiled and added to by the author, who has devoted five years to his work. It comprises all the New England branches, including those of Scarborough and York, Maine; of Springfield and Braintree, Massachusetts; and of more than five thousand descendants dispersed throughout the United States. Complete accounts are given of Col. Johnson Harmon and Captain Allison Harmon, the former the famous Indian fighter, of York, and the latter the "Strong Man of Maine," of Scarborough; of Hon. Judson Harmon, formerly Governor of Ohio, and United States Attorney General; and of a hundred Harmons who served in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the War of the Rebellion, and the World War. It contains two Harmon coats-of-arms, one in four colors, and eighteen pages of photo-engravings. The paper is of the best quality, and the work is neatly and substantially bound in cloth, gold lettered.

EDITORIAL

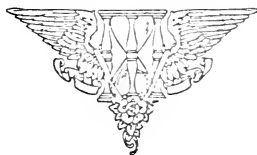
The Story of a Common Soldier; Army Life in the Civil War, 1861-1865; by Leander Stillwell, late Judge of Seventh Judicial District, Kansas; published by himself; Erie, Kansas; pp. 278, with illustrations; \$1.50; by mail, \$1.60.

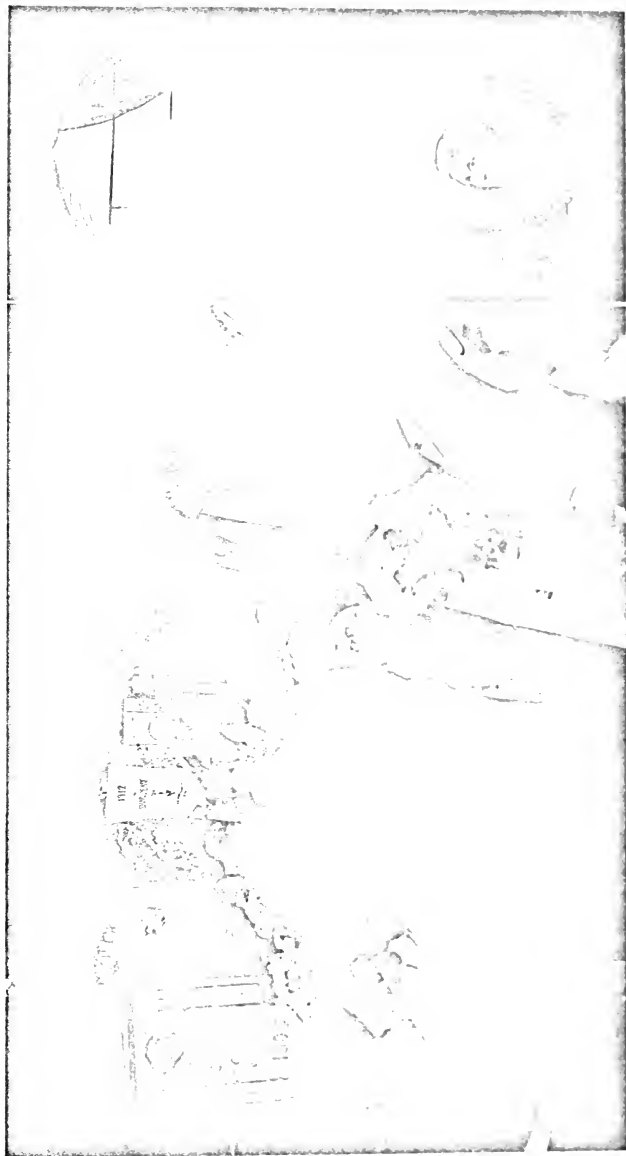
At first glance there would seem to be no occasion for narratives of a war of more than half a century ago, in view of the stupendous conflict but recently ended. As a matter of fact, however, the latter has recalled considerable interest in the former, and for good reasons—the contrasting of war instruments and war methods in these two widely separated periods; and also, and which is of deeper interest, the quest for somewhat of comprehension of the psychology of the War for the Union period, and that of the World War time. That difference there is, is evidenced from the abundant living verse of the period of the one, and its almost utter absence in the period of the other. There is nothing whatever of the World War time to approach the “Battle Hymn of the Republic” of the Northerner, or the “Maryland, My Maryland,” of the Southerner, both stricken off at white heat at the very beginning of the former great struggle.

The conditions in each of the great conflicts referred to above, created a soldier type of its own. The one was a volunteer, who offered himself; the other was a summoned man, in many instances, however, ill-pleased that he could not volunteer. The first and the greatest of the Union armies were exclusively volunteer bodies—that of the Potomac, under McClellan; that of the Tennessee, under Grant; that of the Cumberland, under Thomas. True, the time came when these and later armies were added to by draft, but it was the soul of the volunteers of the first two war years that permeated and inspired those masses, and wrought out victory. These volunteers came together in squads and companies from their own city wards and country villages; they were schoolmates and fellow-workmen; and, when war was on, they were familiar associates embarking together in another adventure. Such was impossible in the recent war; there were few instances where the soldier found an old-time friend, generally not a single casual acquaintance within reach. A thoughtful mind will draw from these contrasting conditions some interesting psychological speculations, but leading to an unanswerable question—which of the two systems will produce the most efficient military machine?

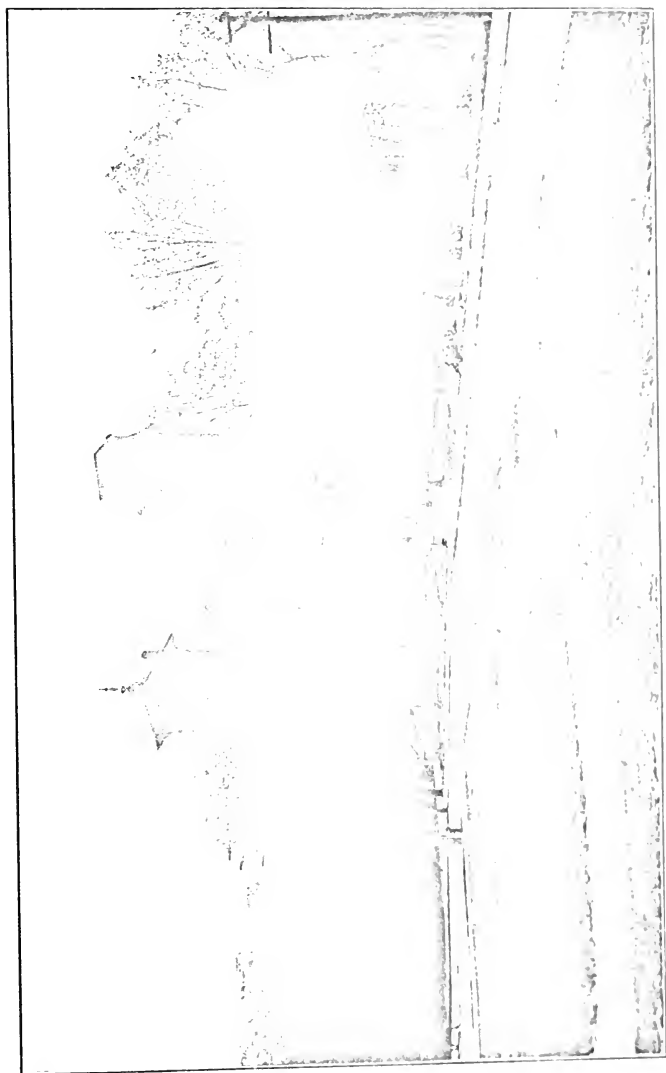
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Such are the thoughts which come to the mind of this reviewer (himself a soldier of the former time) in perusing the admirable little volume which stands for his text. The author makes no attempt at fine writing. He has written at the request of his child, and in such plain earnest style as would almost convince the reader that he was listening to a story told at the fireside by word of mouth. It is "a plain unvarnished tale" of the acts and thoughts of the average man in the ranks, in a most strenuous time, and of achievements which, if left undone, would have made impossible the great accomplishments of the splendid American soldier in the struggle but recently closed.





RECOGNITION DAY. AT RIGHT, FRANCES E. WILLARD MEMORIAL WINDOW, KELLOGG HALL.
Chautauqua Institution



OLD COLLEGE BUILDING, VALPARAISO, INDIANA

AMERICANA

APRIL, 1921

Valparaiso University

BY DANIEL RUSSELL HODGDON, Sc.D., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF
VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY

THROUGHOUT the United States and the greater part of the world are scattered thousands and thousands of men and women who some time in their lives spent a few years in Valparaiso University. These people are engaged in every kind of industry and profession known to the human race. Their relations with the rest of the population of the country are so varied and complex that a greater number of people who have never seen the institution are interested in it than the number who have actually attended the University. The result is that any news about Valparaiso University is of almost universal interest. Fifteen or twenty years ago there was a great deal written on the unique system of keeping down expenses which was employed at Valparaiso. But in recent years the outside world has not heard much about the institution. The reason is that the school was so well established and the system was working with such perfection that it did not attract the attention of the average person. As soon as the newness of the various plans had worn off and their practicability had been amply demonstrated, the world ceased to point to it as a remarkable achievement, and Valparaiso University was left alone to pursue her great work of offering a thorough education to the man and woman of ordinary means, and so successful has she been in this work that she is now known from one end of the continent to the other as the one place in the world where everybody has an equal opportunity to enter the higher activities of human development. During the World War, Valparaiso University suffered severely. The attendance began to decrease from the day that the

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first shots of the great conflict were fired. At the opening of the war a large number of foreign students were in school, but the war called many back to Europe and Asia, while many others were compelled to leave because their relatives in the old countries could no longer send them the necessary money to continue. The American students heard the call of their country and left in even greater numbers.

After a long struggle to maintain her position among the great institutions of the world, Valparaiso has been reorganized and once more is a subject of discussion before the people of the country. In view of these facts a sketch of its origin and its historical development should be interesting to all who are interested in the fate of our educational institutions and the part that they will play in the future.

In order to understand thoroughly the development of Valparaiso University, it is necessary to go back to the first college that was located at Valparaiso. In 1859 the Northwestern Indiana Conference of the Methodist Church founded at Valparaiso the Valparaiso Male and Female College. This college was of the same type as the average college founded by the Methodist church at that time. It was the purpose of the church to establish a school in every congressional district in the State of Indiana. It is not hard to see why the people in Valparaiso should be glad to have an institution of this nature grow up in the community. In 1859 there were no high schools in Northern Indiana, and no higher education of any kind under the supervision of the Protestants. Besides these motives, the people were eager to outdo the neighboring towns and cities in the rivalry of progress and expansion.

The money by which the College was built was raised in the country, and the College was opened with a faculty of six and an attendance of about seventy. The attendance of this little school never reached a larger number than 325, and after eleven years of hard struggling it was closed. The failure of this institution has a great deal to do with the history of Valparaiso University. Much money and enthusiasm were expended on this first attempt to establish a school of higher education at Valparaiso, and when the doors of the Methodist College were closed the people lost faith in such work and were slow to undertake another venture which could guarantee no more for the community. For two years after the suspen-

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sion of the Methodist College, the building was vacant, and there seemed to be little hope that another institution would ever take its place.

In the summer of 1873, Henry Baker Brown came to Valparaiso and made arrangements with the trustees of the College to open the Northern Indiana Normal School and Business Institute on a private basis. Mr. Brown had been teaching in the Northwestern Normal School at Republic, Ohio, and in his experience there and also in his experience at Lebanon, of which institution he was a graduate, he had learned much about the modern system of education, and had come to the conclusion that the kind of schools most needed in America were such institutions as would offer equal opportunity to every class of people seeking an education. He saw throughout the country thousands of young men and women who should have an opportunity to go to school, but who could never attend an institution of higher learning, because they did not have sufficient means to go to the colleges and universities already in existence. Urged by some of his fellow teachers at Republic, he came to Valparaiso and established the school of his dreams upon the ruins of the college which had recently failed.

Henry Baker Brown came to Valparaiso with nothing to put his plans into operation, except a vision and an untiring ambition to put that vision into material form. The Northern Indiana Normal School opened September 16, 1873, with about thirty-five students and five instructors. Taking the place of a recent failure, it was natural that most of the people of the immediate community looked upon the undertaking with suspicion and had little confidence in the enterprise. Nevertheless, it was the immediate community upon which Mr. Brown depended almost entirely for support. With the exception of a few students who followed him from Ohio, his entire school was made up of students from the vicinity of Valparaiso for several years. In a very short time, however, Mr. Brown had won the confidence of the greater part of the people in the county, and received their support in everything that he undertook in relation to his school. With an attendance of 61 the first term, the school increased to 691 at the end of the second year. The number reached 1600 in 1900, and continued to grow until in 1910 the students of Valparaiso were numbered by the thousands, and Val-

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paraiso became known as one of the largest institutions of learning in the United States.

Before proceeding with the historical development of the institution, it might be well to examine some of the principles upon which the Normal School was based, and thus the more readily understand the spirit which made the institution flourish for more than forty years. Mr. Brown held that education should be practical, and that it should be accessible to all. He defined education as the accumulation of physical, mental and moral powers. The more of these powers a person possessed, the greater his education. He considered that education is a training for active life, and that training which does not prepare the student for a more useful life and make him a better member of society, is not the training most desirable. To be practical, educational training must be similar to active life. If the student is to be taught to do a certain kind of work, he must actually do the work. This does not mean that Mr. Brown did not believe that knowledge could be acquired in school and applied in after life, but school life should be as much as possible like real life and should fit the student for the experiences, intellectual and social, which he should have after he had left school. Since life itself demands hard work through long hours each day, a training course should require the same if it is to accomplish the proper result.

Under the practicality of education comes Mr. Brown's principle of as little interference as possible with the private life of the student. The average student has reached the age and stage of mental development where he must learn to look out for his own interests. He must be put upon his own responsibility and allowed, provided he does not injure his fellow-students or society in general, to pursue his course after his own fashions and inclinations. The student body is to be self-governing, conforming to only such regulations as the institution should deem necessary to preserve its standards. The accumulation of moral powers comes from study and experience, not from petty corrections. The one condition attached to every right is, that the exercise of that right should in no way molest or interfere with others who are living within the confines of their own rights. In order to make education practical, courses must be so arranged that the student could advance according to his own ability, regardless of the progress of those who entered school when he did. He must be given the privilege of selecting his

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own subjects, and be able to begin work in any course whenever he desires. The free mingling with hundreds of others who have lived in different States and countries and who have had various experiences, also is a practical feature of education.

To make education accessible to all who desired it, was not so easy. For the accomplishment of this, three conditions were essential. First, education must be made cheaper. Probably the greatest deterrent of education is the cost of spending a long time at school. Expenses must be kept down as low as possible. Fraternities were not recognized, because they would tend to create social distinctions, which would in turn require for their maintenance a larger expense. All time should be used to the greatest advantage. Work should be the standard, not wealth. Board, room, tuition, and incidental expenses, should be kept at a minimum. The importance of keeping down expenses should by example and teaching be emphasized to such a degree that public sentiment would condemn needless expenditure of money, either for luxuries or for the necessities of life. The second essential of accessibility of education is, that the training requisite for an ordinary life-work should be given in less time than the usual college courses. Many people who can afford it are unwilling to spend four or six years in acquiring the training offered in the average institution of learning. The third essential condition is, that the requirements for entrance should not bar any person of average intellect and common sense from entering a school. These were the statements which Henry Baker Brown made at the time when he laid the foundation of Valparaiso University, and until very recently these were the fundamental principles upon which this remarkable and unique institution was operated.

The Normal School began with only three departments, but it was not long before others were added, and this increase of departments continued until the Normal School was converted into Valparaiso College and later into Valparaiso University. The development of these departments is unique. There were no very distinct lines of demarcation between these departments, for most of the students in the early days of the institution were taking special work. Later the regular collegiate course was divided into three years. The first year was called Preparatory, and consisted of secondary preparatory subjects. The second year was the Scientific, and the third

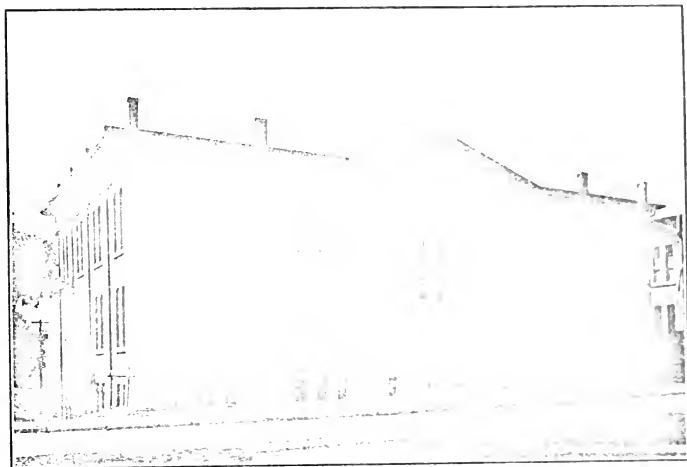
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the Classic. The rule was to offer a course in any subject for which there was sufficient demand, provided it was possible to get a teacher and to make other necessary arrangements. Thus it happened that sooner or later nearly every subject imaginable was taught. The natural result of this variety of courses was the development of the departments which now compose the University.

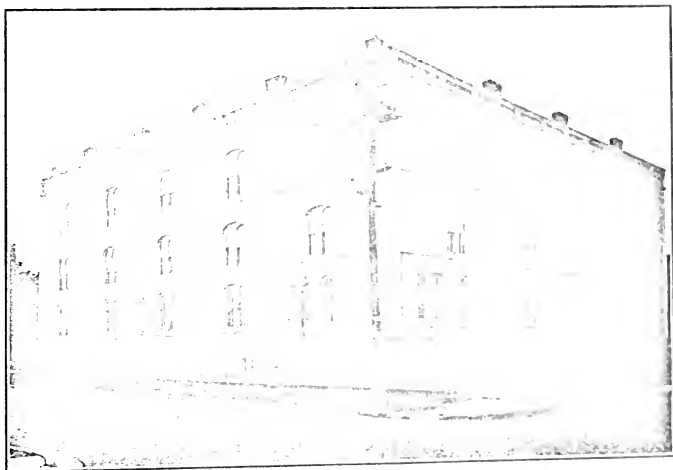
The school year was at first divided into three terms, but this was soon increased to four. After a few years, school was in session continuously, and several hundred students would remain during the summer vacation. Classes were formed each month in many of the courses, and at the beginning of every term in practically all of them. The school day began at 6.15 o'clock in the morning and finished at 8.30 in the evening. The student was permitted to take as many subjects as he was capable of carrying, but the work was so heavy that even the best students seldom took more than five.

Mr. Brown was very successful in keeping expenses at a low rate. For the most part, expenses during the first ten years of the institution were far lower than they were in other institutions during the same period. In 1874 board and room was about a dollar and forty cents a week. In 1878 Mr. Brown furnished board and room for one dollar and ninety cents a week. Two years later this was reduced ten cents a week. After the panic of 1873 it was natural that conditions would be more favorable for an institution such as the Northern Indiana Normal School. Tuition was seven dollars a term at first, but in 1877 this was increased to eight dollars a term.

Henry Baker Brown had one faculty which in a large measure explains his success as an educator and college president. He had the ability to choose strong and faithful men and women as members of his teaching force. From the beginning he began to surround himself with some of the ablest teachers in the country. Professors Bogarte, Baldwin, and many others, joined him at an early date and remained with him until they retired from active life. Mr. Brown did not choose for his teachers men who were ambitious to write or who aspired to high political positions and honors, but men who took delight in the art of teaching, men who were willing to devote their lives to the profession, and who were more interested in giving help to others than in making themselves great in the public eye. The result of this policy was to bring to Valparaiso one of the strongest faculties in the country from the teaching stand-



SCIENCE HALL



ENGINEERING BUILDING

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point. It was never Mr. Brown's intention to make his institution a teach the common man the value of education, and to send out into center of classical learning or of scientific research. He held that to the world hundreds of teachers to spread the gospel of education, was a far great mission than to train men and women according to the old institutions of culture and classical learning. There were enough institutions where those seeking such training could go, but the great need was a place where the ordinary people could get a start in the educational world.

In 1880, Mr. Brown was joined by his friend and old schoolmate, Oliver Perry Kinsey. Mr. Kinsey became joint owner of the Normal School, and soon was more essential to the workings of the institution than any other person except Mr. Brown. Mr. Kinsey's great work lay in keeping down the expenses of the student and in perfecting the democratic spirit of the institution, which had already reached a high degree of development. The college continued to expand under the able leadership of these two men until it became one of the great schools of the United States. Opportunity was its great slogan, and opportunity was given to all by maintaining a democratic spirit which made it possible for the average person to attend Valparaiso without taking a spendthrift's part in college life.

The name of the Normal was changed in 1900 to Valparaiso College, and five years later, when the Medical and Dental Schools were added, it became Valparaiso University. The period from 1905 to 1912 was one of great prosperity. The enrollment for the year 1911 was 5,551. No changes of policy were adopted during this time, and the practicality of the system was thoroughly demonstrated to the satisfaction of all who had before doubted the feasibility of such an institution. In 1912 Mr. Brown was forced to retire from the strenuous part of the work, and a greater burden fell upon Mr. Kinsey. Mr. Brown died in 1917, and Mr. Kinsey continued in the work until 1918, when he retired and Henry Kinsey Brown became president of the institution. Daniel Russell Hodgdon became president in the summer of 1920, when the University was reorganized, with the final authority resting in a board of trustees.

Valparaiso University as now reorganized has the same splendid aim it has had from the beginning—that of serving the community in the largest possible way by giving education to all who apply at

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its doors, the less fortunate, as well as the fortunate. There is a department and a place for every man and every woman really anxious to secure an education. There is no scholastic aristocracy here; it is a great educational democracy. No student is turned away if he has the desire, the courage and the perseverance, to undertake the work for a practical education, and to remain until he has accomplished his aim.

The University slogan is "Opportunity for education for every one, and for every occupation." This does not mean that the standards of any department are low, but rather that they are unusually high. The entrance requirements are as high and in many cases higher than those of the average accredited college or university. In addition to the standard college courses, Valparaiso maintains schools which prepare for them. In other words, students not qualified to enter certain courses where their aims and ambitions would carry them, are given an opportunity to prepare themselves to undertake a curriculum of study leading to the profession or vocation desired.

It is an appalling situation when our American educational system as a whole does not adequately provide in our American universities an opportunity for the thousands of men and women who, through misfortune and other causes, have not had an opportunity for an education in early life. One graduate of Valparaiso, now a successful business man and millionaire, applied to seventeen universities or colleges for entrance, but because his entrance requirements were sadly deficient he could not gain entrance, no matter what his ambitions were. Since he was past high school age, he was left to shift for himself, trying to find some method to make up his deficiencies. While studying alone and doing his best by correspondence, he heard of Valparaiso University. He entered the preparatory department and had soon completed the necessary requirement for entrance to the College. His success in life testified to the need of an institution which will accept a student regardless of his qualification, and prepare him for any field of endeavor.

When men such as this one suddenly awaken to the need of a better education, they often turn in vain to the great educational institutions. Most of these institutions have been established with public money in various States, and should supply the needs of that State, whatever the needs of education may be. Hundreds of

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correspondence schools and night schools, which have been established in recent years, attest to the yearning of men and women for a better education, and conclusively prove that there must be a more liberal system of education than the plan now in vogue in the great American Universities. It is, of course, necessary to maintain graduate schools and colleges for higher education, but, at the same time, these institutions should not specialize at the expense of a great number desiring to obtain a practical education. We have gone standardizing mad. All too often these standards are more destructive than constructive, so much so, in fact, that they have eliminated great masses of would-be students from obtaining an education in a profession or vocation which would have made of them useful citizens.

Valparaiso University is in a class by itself, and is rapidly and distinctively developing into an industrial, professional and vocational institution. The University is definitely divided into twelve stages of educational endeavor, each one having a definite aim of accomplishment and standard of requirement.

If we were to try to explain Valparaiso University's aim in a graphic way, we might represent the whole University as twelve concentric circles, the inner circle being composite society, and each circle from the center representing an increased number of possibilities in different fields, professionally, educationally, and industrially. Each circle or stage would represent a better training to accomplish the student's aim until the final circle is reached. The University then would meet the needs of those requiring an education, no matter what previous education such an individual may have had. A plan is being developed for a unit system whereby any student may obtain his education as rapidly or as slowly as he desires. This, also, will provide that each stage or unit of training be done satisfactorily. Another advantage of this unit system is that it prevents holding back students who have the ability to do work rapidly, while their fellow student might require a few more months or years to accomplish the same training. In other words, no matter what a student's previous education may have been, he will find a school here which will accept him any month in the year, and, with the training received, he will get an incentive to go on with his work. He may enter even as low as the first or Americanization stage and become inspired to advance to the highest, to graduate

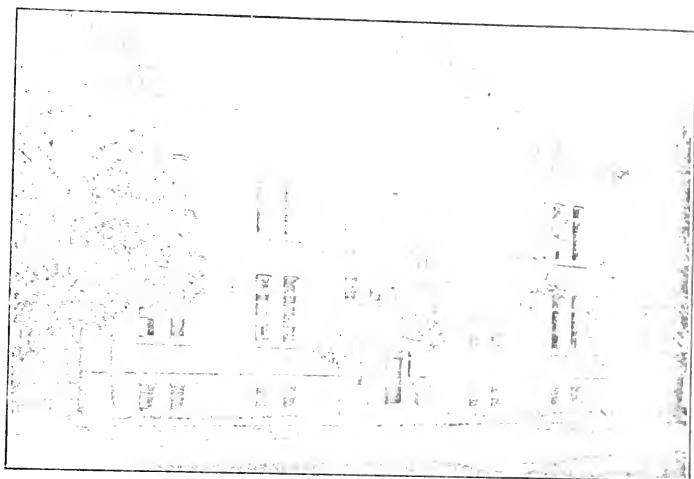
VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY

from the approved College of Engineering, Arts and Sciences, Medicine, Law, Pharmacy, Agriculture, etc., etc.

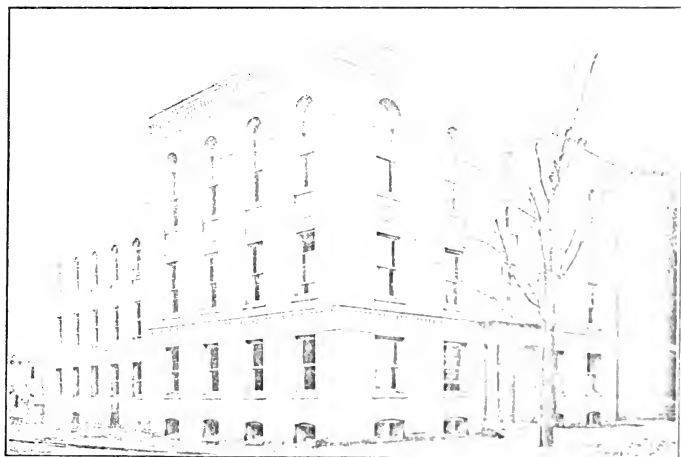
Valparaiso may be designated as a vast Workshop University, utilizing the industries, vocations and other resources of its own community, as well as those of the great Calumet district adjacent to it, as demonstrating laboratories to prepare men and women to enter the nation's industrial, vocational and professional life. It is not a University in the ordinary limited sense of the term, for it is not based on traditional lines of education, but on a practical service to industry and humanity. Every department aims to square theory with practice, and to place its students in industries and professions as productive factors earning a competency from the start, thus saving the individual and the industry many years of wasted time and expense.

America is fundamentally an industrial country. Its life and future depend upon development of great industries, backed by an efficient organization of foreseeing leaders. One of the great apparent needs is an educational system which will provide a purely industrial education. This country has reached the time when it should seriously consider the establishment of an Industrial University where principles of psychology, economics, philosophy, mathematics, history, language, and all academic subjects, are taught from an industrial standpoint—(Industrial Psychology, Industrial Economics, etc.). Its laboratories should be clearing houses for industrial problems. Its research department must work hand in hand with the industrial development, and disseminate information, as well as be ready to attack any phase of the unsolved problems in the industrial field. Its teachers must be men associated with industry from all standpoints. Its principles must be flexible enough to permit a constant change and enlargement as conditions change and enlarge in the work-a-day world. Such a Workshop University can not afford to adopt any principle that would allow its laboratories to be used but a few hours daily, or to have any building or plant, class room or lecture hall, that permitted an hour of the day to go to waste. Efficiency, economy and constant use of equipment is the keynote of industry. Students must see the same principle worked out in the university. In a few words, its basic principle must be industrial efficiency.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the fact that the average uni-



MEDICAL BUILDING



MUSIC HALL

versity teaches these subjects as purely academic, and that no great effort has been made to educate or train men to think in the terms of America's great industrial pursuits. Efficient, clear-thinking, reasonable, and logical leaders, are needed to inspire future confidence in the development of our nation. Destructive philosophy has caused much present day unrest and inefficiency among the industrial masses.

From an industrial standpoint, it would be well to analyze the average college graduate as he enters industry. He is about 75 per cent. learned, about 10 per cent. educated. He has about 5 per cent. or less business ability, and often not more than 1 per cent. of adaptability. He is only 5 per cent. real student, and often his judgment and ability to be selective is far below what he should be. This does not take into consideration the student's personality, which may cause him to rise quickly and efficiently above the elements that would otherwise prevent his acquiring a better position in his particular field. Many an industrial man has remarked that the average college graduate is of very little use to him for the first two years. This is a reflection upon any educational system which turns out a young man so poorly prepared as to require two years training to become efficient after receiving a college degree.

The school that gives information purely because its curriculum has been selected on the basis of "this is what the student ought to know, rather than what the student requires to live better in the world," is failing. The requirements of a good practical education are not what a student "ought to know," but rather what a man should attain in order to take his place among men of the present day when he must think in terms of solving problems as they arise and make decisions in confident terms of "yes" or "no." The average college course for industry may be stated somewhat in the language of an educator who gave the following formula: Take 30 parts of desiccated mathematics and grind well with 20 parts of pure abstraction. When thoroughly mixed, stir in 10 parts of accurate measurements, technical manipulations and percentage of error. Let definitions of the undefinable, some philosophy, psychology and history (which has little, if anything to do with helping to solve industrial problems), and add about one part of real education. Such a solution as this must be carefully corked in college examination bottles, since it will spoil quickly when exposed to the fresh air and sunshine of the real work-a-day world about it.

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The aim and purpose of the new Valparaiso University is to make responsible citizens who are of immediate practical value in our economic life. They will answer in a practical way the need for trained, loyal men and women, in every trade and profession. Its keynote is "loyalty to industry." It aims to Americanize home industry, and thus act to check disrupting radical forces in our economic and social life. Its students are practical, producing, economic features in industry from the day they enter the course. When the training offered is completed, every student will already be established at reasonable and larger pay because of the constant alternating or practical experience with the theoretical training necessary to get the fullest understanding of his work. The student graduated by Valparaiso University will be an educated man capable of accomplishing things, and not an impractical, learned man capable merely of theorizing, hence saving great wastes now permitted in the traditional systems of education characteristic of the last generation instead of this. The University aims to supply industry with experienced, responsible, trained men and women, whether it be in the factory, in the home, in the store, in the office, or in the professions. Such a training tends to substitute in these strenuous days, industrial health and rest for industrial sickness and unrest.

Since the war, it is recognized more than ever before that we have reached that stage in our educational development where the value of making a student a productive capable citizen with a normal earning capacity, rather than a student merely seeking information for citizenship, is realized. Mature students as well as younger persons must have their desires for higher occupational education met by an opportunity to produce things having a real and immediate market value. Increased earning capacity, success and satisfaction in life, comes from all-around thorough preparation and fitness for service. People who have this advantage live happier and are more contented, and are more appreciative of our government, of its institutions, and of the community conditions under which they live. It matters not to what field we turn, we find that the business man, the professional man, the engineer, and the master of industry, demand that education shall function directly and immediately in the lives of those who receive it.

Much waste has been going on under the apparent excuse that

what was being taught was developing a high mental capacity. We have learned to recognize that all men are not born with the same desires, ambitions and possibilities. Each one has his own problems, and each one must solve his problems in a practical way and in a way useful to himself. The great aim of education is to give the man with initiative and intelligence a training which will allow him to develop into a master. It is the duty of education to furnish an opportunity for the man without the keen initiative of his fellowmen, to serve the greater interests of his community, and make of him a healthy citizen; to train the man who has the mental capacity to be a leader, that he may take an impartial view of society; to educate the world to what the relations of industry, commerce and society mean in the development of the race; and to give the man with ability a fair opportunity to use his genius with just and fair compensation, that he may create for others of less ability and opportunity to become workers, servants of the community, happy and contented because of their position in life.

The purpose of education today is, not to raise all men to one level, but to give the man with initiative an opportunity to develop; to train the man who does not have great potential ability, into a contented citizen, healthy in mind and body. It should give an opportunity for the genius to develop that he may be of service to society. It should offer possibilities for the masters of industry to create opportunities for those of less ability to become useful servants for the community. There is a vast difference between a learned man and an educated man. Education prepares men to solve vital problems. Education functions in daily activities. We have no time to waste on anything but the vital problems surrounding us. An educated man can put to practice what he has; a learned man theorizes.

Valparaiso University has caught a vision of serving the American student as the greatest Industrial and Vocational University in the country, through its unique system of education and with its slogan, "An opportunity for everyone to get an education." Indeed, the fulfillment of the adage that "this is the twilight of poets and the high noon of practical men," is here.



Alexander Hamilton as a Promoter

By CHARLES A. SHRINER, PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

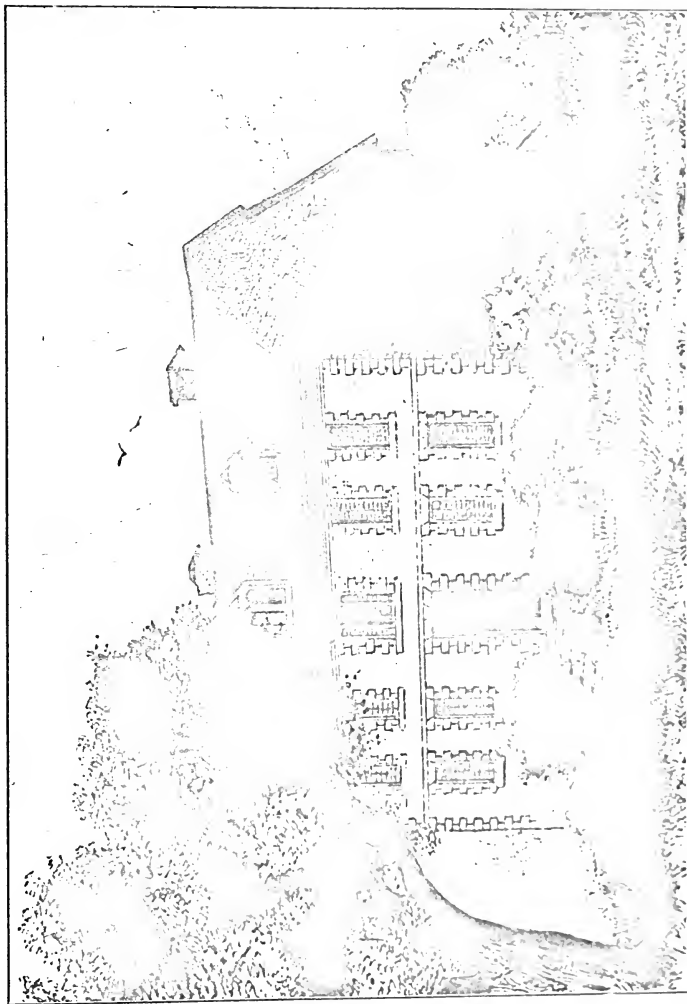


URING the Revolution, when British cruisers blockaded American ports, the colonies were thrown upon their own resources, and there was a considerable development of household industries, such as weaving cloth and making hats and shoes. The leading men of the day urged more attention to the subject and the newspapers occasionally advocated the same course. Still, few or none appeared to realize that America could ever be truly independent until she lived upon her own productions, and many doubted the expediency or practicability of efforts in that direction.

Even the long-headed Franklin was of the opinion, so late as 1768, that manufactures were not especially desirable, except as a means of utilizing the spare time of the children and servants of farmers, although in the same letter he gave utterance to a bit of philosophy which lies at the successful locating of manufacturing establishments: Manufactures "may be made cheaper where the provisions grow and the mouths will go to the meat." But in 1760 he was of the opinion that it would take "some centuries" to populate the country as far west as the Mississippi, and to the St. Lawrence and the lakes on the north, and declared: "Our present colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themselves in a condition to manufacture, even for their own inhabitants, to any considerable degree, much less for those who are settling behind them."

In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, in 1780, John Adams wrote: "America will not make manufactures enough for her own consumption these thousand years." And again, in a letter to an Amsterdam gentleman, he says: "The principal interest of America

Editor's Note—These pages are taken from "History of Paterson and Its Environs," by William Nelson and Charles A. Shriner; recently out of press. (Lewis Historical Publishing Co., New York and Chicago).



DEW HOUSE, WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS
Four Miles West of Paterson

for many centuries to come will be landed, and her chief occupation agriculture. Manufactures and commerce will be but secondary objects, and always subservient to the other. America will be the country to produce raw materials for the manufacturers * * * and its commerce can never increase but in a certain proportion to its agriculture, until its whole territory of land is filled up with inhabitants, which will not be in some hundreds of years." Mr. Adams was no prophet, to foresee that within a century after he wrote the number of persons engaged in manufacture in America would be more than twice the entire population at the time of the Revolution, and nearly equal to the number engaged in agriculture.

Political independence having been achieved, the American people set about gaining an industrial independence. The young nation had no credit abroad, and that fact, bewailed at the time as a public misfortune, stimulated them to make for themselves what they could no longer buy abroad, so that the apparent misfortune proved a benefit. While Washington thus perceived the rift of sunshine in the cloud of adversity, and was gratified at the progress that had been made in the "useful arts," he inclined to Franklin's view, that manufactures might be promoted only "by women, children and others, without taking the really necessary hand from tilling the earth," as he "would not force the introduction of manufactures by extravagant encouragements and to the prejudice of agriculture." When he was inaugurated President, in April, 1789, it was thought worthy of remark in the newspapers of the day that he wore "a suit of crow-colored broadcloth, of the finest American manufacture," as an incentive to others to patronize home industries. This was doubtless the "homespun broadcloth of the Hartford fabric," which he had ordered through General Knox.

But it was through the earnest efforts of Alexander Hamilton more than any other man, that the national importance of the subject was impressed upon Congress, and in January, 1790, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution calling upon him as Secretary of the Treasury to report as to the means of promoting such manufactures as would tend to render the United States independent of foreign nations, "particularly for essential and military supplies." The inquiry was considered of such doubtful propriety that it was based on the plea of "military necessity," it will be observed.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AS A PROMOTER

Hamilton's famous "report on manufactures," submitted to Congress, December 5, 1791, is still regarded as one of the ablest treatises on the subject of government encouragement of manufactures ever written. It begins with the cautious remark: "The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States, which was, not long since, deemed very questionable, appears at this time to be pretty generally admitted." Hamilton's writings do not show that he had ever before given much attention to the subject of domestic manufactures as an essential factor of national prosperity. But it is evident that the subject soon grew upon him, for he treats it exhaustively.

The investigations by Hamilton led to a practical result, upon which none of his biographers have touched, although it illustrates in a singular degree the great financial secretary's ability to handle practical questions quite as well as to write brilliantly upon political and economic problems. Indeed, it is one of the most interesting episodes in his career. To New Jersey it has, moreover, a peculiar local interest.

In the report to which reference has been made, Hamilton speaks with special emphasis of the practicability of extensively manufacturing cotton in the United States, and adds this important bit of information: "It may be announced that a society is forming, with a capital which is expected to be extended to at least half a million dollars, on behalf of which measures are already in train for prosecuting, on a large scale, the making and printing of cotton goods." For the better encouragement of the cotton manufacture he recommended the repeal of the duty on raw cotton, the granting of a bounty on cotton manufactured in this country, and the importation of "artisans and manufacturers in particular branches of extraordinary importance." Evidently having in view the interests of the new society, he prudently remarks, "that any bounty which may be applied to the manufacture of any article, cannot with safety extend beyond those manufactories at which the making of the article is a regular trade."

There is no doubt that the sanguine Secretary of the Treasury believed that he had conceived a project destined to be of incalculable benefit to the country. Too apt to think that great schemes for the public good could only be carried out successfully by government aid, there is reason to believe that he had in his mind's eye another

indispensable undertaking in the shape of a grand national manufactory, where should be gathered together the most skilled artisans of the whole world, under whose trained eyes and hands should be produced all the supplies, "particularly of a military nature," needed to make this country independent. Such an enterprise, backed up by the government, and perhaps receiving pecuniary aid in the way of bounties from the Federal treasury, could hardly fail of being a great success in every sense, both for the public good, and for the private gain of those who might invest in it. With the prestige of the great Secretary of the Treasury, with the prospect of government aid, and, perhaps with much patriotism, many of the leading moneyed men of the day readily engaged in the enterprise.

With much address the newspapers were enlisted in support of the enterprise, and the New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia gazettes of the day teem with articles on the subject of the "New National Manufactory," written or inspired by the enthusiastic Secretary of the Treasury. He shrewdly gave out that the Society's works were to be located in either of the three States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, whereby he interested capitalists of New York and Philadelphia in the project. But all the while, as is shown by his published correspondence, he had the Passaic Falls in view as the future manufacturing centre of America.

Something like \$100,000 having been subscribed towards the capital stock of the new company, application was made to the Legislature of New Jersey for leave to introduce a bill incorporating "The Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures," which was granted. The charter, already prepared, was promptly introduced and pressed to passage. While there is no record of the fact, it has come down as a tradition from the earliest times of the Society that the act of incorporation was drafted by Alexander Hamilton himself. Of this there has never been any doubt among the officers of the Society, and, indeed, a careful examination of the document itself, with a knowledge of Hamilton's interests in the Society, will readily persuade any one of the inherent probability of the claim.

The charter contains some peculiar features, such as no Legislature would dream of granting in these days; but, after all, the special privileges granted proved to be of little value, and, indeed, have never been of much importance to the Society. The capital stock was limited to \$1,000,000, in shares of \$100 each. All the

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property of the Society was exempted from all taxation for ten years, and thereafter from all but State taxes, an exemption which has been materially curtailed by the courts. "All artificers, or manufacturers in the immediate service of the said Society, shall be free and exempt from all poll and capitation taxes; and taxes on their respective faculties and occupations." Subscriptions to the stock might be made in United States bonds, in which case a register of the same should be kept on the books of the United States Treasury; or in stock of the Bank of the United States. The Society was to be managed by thirteen directors, chosen by the stockholders in the usual way, and the directors were to elect from among themselves a governor and deputy governor. "The United States, or any State, which shall subscribe for not less than one hundred shares, may appoint a commissioner, who shall have a right at all times to inspect the proceedings of the corporation, and the state of its affairs." The provisions, so far as they pertain to corporations generally, evidently follow English precedents. It should be borne in mind that this was the first charter of incorporation of a private company enacted by the New Jersey Legislature. It may be questioned whether there was an incorporated manufacturing company in the United States at the time.

In Hamilton's report, already quoted from, he refers to "the great progress which has been of late made in opening canals" in Great Britain, as having "been a benefit to the manufacturers of that kingdom." His active mind at once grasped all the possibilities in thus developing internal navigation in the United States and that feature appears prominently in the charter of the Society, nearly one-third of the document being taken up in conferring the necessary powers to construct, regulate and navigate canals, which were to be public highways, authority being given to exercise the right of eminent domain in the furtherance of this great public work, and to open and clear the channels of rivers and to take any other water courses needed for the purpose. Most of these provisions have since been embraced in every railroad and canal charter granted by the State.

Having evidently in view the recent legislation regarding the location of the Federal City, as it was called, Hamilton next provides in this remarkable charter for the incorporation of a tract equivalent to six miles square, being the territory within which the



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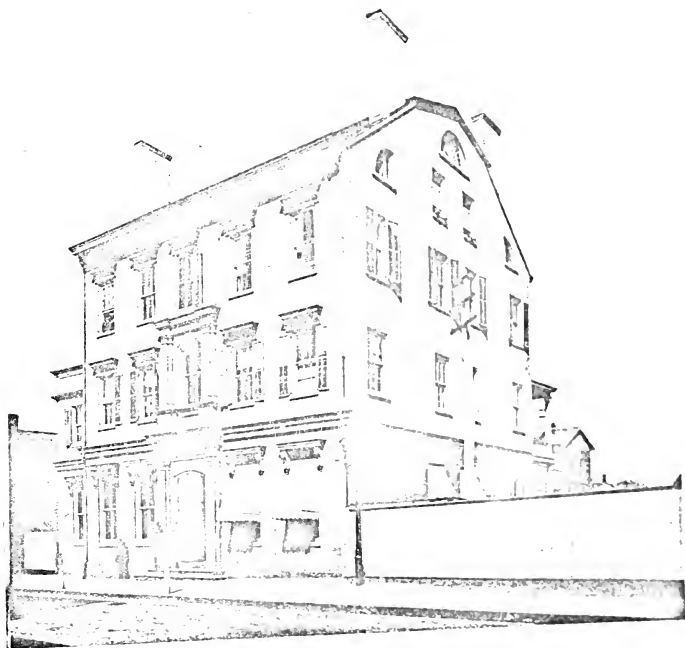
Society might establish its manufactory, the Society to take the initiative and survey the territory, which, unless objected to by a majority of the taxpayers within sixty days after public notice, should become incorporated as "The Corporation of the Town of Paterson." The government of the town was modelled generally after the charter of New York, granted in 1730, and still in force in 1791, but with some peculiar features unmistakably Hamilton's own. The government was to be vested in a mayor, recorder, twelve aldermen and twelve assistants, and a town clerk, who were to be appointed by the Legislature in joint meeting, no limit being fixed to their terms of office, which is quite in consonance with Hamilton's well-known views regarding official tenure of office. The mayor, recorder, aldermen and assistants were given power to "make such by-laws, ordinances, rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the United States, or of this State, as to them shall appear necessary and beneficial to the good government of the said district, and the same to put in execution, revoke, alter and make anew, as occasion shall require." The boldness and comprehensiveness with which the powers of the municipality are defined evince a master mind, that dared sweep aside the tautology and petty restrictions with which municipalities always had been and ever have been tied up by the superior authority. Moreover, in this same body was vested the appointment of such other officers as they might think necessary, who should hold office until the appointment of their successors. The freeholders of the town were authorized to elect annually a sheriff and coroner. Assessors, collectors and overseers of the poor were to be elected in like manner. As in New York, the mayor, recorder, aldermen and assistants were given the powers of justices of the peace, and authorized to hold "a court of quarter sessions of the peace of the town of Paterson," four times in each year, with special sessions if necessary; also to hold a monthly court of common pleas, the town clerk being clerk of both courts. "All artificers and manufacturers within the said district, in the immediate service of the society," were "exempt from all military duty, except in cases of actual invasion or imminent danger." Such are the leading features of this remarkable charter as it passed the New Jersey Legislature on November 22, 1791. The town government never became an accomplished fact.



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It would be interesting to have a report of the debates on this bill in the Legislature. That it met with fierce opposition and hostile criticism is certain—partly because members did not believe in encouraging American manufactures, partly because they considered the powers asked for extraordinary, somewhat because of political animosity towards Hamilton and his friends interested in the project, and largely because of a jealousy lest other than their own sections of the State should derive the benefits contemplated by the enterprise. Two of the most amusing objections to the charter were urged by a gentleman from Middlesex county in a letter to a friend in the Legislature. He thought the capital proposed altogether too large—one million dollars—a sum, he said, equal to the combined capital invested in American manufactures at that time; by authorizing a single corporation to invest so much capital, it would give them a monopoly of the manufactures of the country, and would ruin the mechanics everywhere. Then, again, he urged there was that general power to make canals. Suppose the Society should think fit, as some lunatic had actually proposed, to construct a canal from Raritan bay to the Delaware river, what would become of it? All the fertile farms in that section would be ruined, by being cut in two, and the farmers would be put to great inconvenience to get from one part of their bisected farms to the other; orchards would be destroyed and there would be general devastation. Forty years afterwards that very canal was constructed, although not by the Society, but followed by none of the direful consequences predicted.

The charter having passed, it was decided to name the town after William Paterson, then governor of the State. William Paterson was a native of the North of Ireland and came to this country in 1745, when he was two years of age. The family lived at Trenton, then at Princeton and afterwards at Somerville. Paterson, having been graduated from Princeton in 1763, studied law with Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1775 he was elected to the Provincial Congress and chosen secretary. In the following year he was appointed Attorney-General, but resigned in 1783. He was one of the first United States Senators from New Jersey and was elected Governor of the State in 1790. In 1793 Washington appointed him to be one of the justices



FIRST CITY HALL, PATERSON

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of the Supreme Court of the United States. He died at Albany, New York, September 9, 1806.

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Hamilton attended meetings of the board at Newark on May 16 and 17, 1792, when it was agreed to limit the choice for a seat for manufacturing to the Passaic, Raritan and Delaware rivers. On May 18, Hamilton also being present, it was unanimously resolved "that the town of Paterson be located upon the waters of the River Passaick at a distance not more than six miles from the same on each or either side thereof between the seat of Mr. Isaac Gouverneur near the town of Newark and Chatham Bridge. That Mr. Low, Mr. Bayard and Mr. Boudinot, or any two of them, be and they are hereby authorized to locate the said town within the limits in the foregoing resolution and to make purchases of such lands as they shall deem requisite for the purposes of the Society; and to employ such surveyor and other persons under them as they shall deem proper and necessary."

At a meeting held on July 4, 1792, at the house of Abraham Godwin at the Great Falls, "the committee appointed for the purpose of fixing upon a proper place on the waters of the Passaick for the seat of the factory, for fixing the town of Paterson and making the necessary purchases of land, reported that it had purchased and paid for the various tracts of land constituting the township of Paterson."

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The Society had bought about seven hundred acres of land above and below the Falls, and the digging of a raceway was soon begun. For engineer, Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant, a gallant and accomplished officer, who had come over with the French army under Lafayette, was selected. He was a friend of Hamilton. He had just mapped out the new National Capital, for which task he had been chosen by Washington, but owing to a dispute with the commissioners he had relinquished his position there. Coming to Paterson, his fertile imagination and sanguine temperament led him to conceive the plan of a magnificent city, which, it was announced in one of the daily prints, "far surpasses anything of the kind yet seen in this country." It seems to have been his intention to open up an air line road from Newark to Paterson, and at the latter city to lay out a series of splendid avenues radiating from what was after-

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wards known as Colt's hill, on Main, Grand and Ward streets, as a common centre. It is hardly necessary to say that this grand scheme never got beyond the paper stage.

The newspapers of the day speak in the most enthusiastic terms of the grand prospects of the "National Manufactory," where they fondly believed would grow up a great city which would supply the whole country with manufactures. A prospectus was issued, filling three closely printed columns, detailing the industries that were to be carried on at the new town. These included cotton spinning, the weaving and printing of calico, the making of woolens and cassimeres, paper for books and for walls, hats of straw and felt, shoes and leather goods generally, carriages, pottery of all kinds, and bricks; iron pots, bars, steel buttons, etc. The paper bears all the signs of Hamilton's comprehensive mind.

The popular anticipations were probably not exaggerated in this advertisement of a farm for sale in the neighborhood in 1792: "Whereas, by a moderate calculation, 20,000 persons will be employed in the manufactory at the town of Paterson; and it may also be reasonably expected that many thousand persons will, contemplating the rising importance of that town, settle in or near the same, which will afford a ready market for all surplusage products, transportation of which, from the waters of the Passaic and a very level road, will be easy and convenient, therefore, the prospect of the above land increasing in value, from this circumstance, is by no means inconsiderable."

To all these gorgeous dreams there is a ludicrous contrast: The governor of the Society, whose wealth and financial ability had been largely counted upon to carry the project to a successful issue, was at this time languishing in jail for debt, having been ruined by a sudden panic in New York. Of the million dollars of capital authorized, only about \$60,000 had been paid in by the original contributors. Hamilton had to use his influence as Secretary of the Treasury to secure a loan of \$5,000 for the Society, the application being made to a bank in New York enjoying valuable privileges from the Treasury Department. Writing confidentially to the cashier of this bank, to urge the granting of the loan, he significantly adds: "To you, my dear sir, I will not scruple to say, in confidence, that the Bank of New York shall suffer no diminution of its pecuniary facilities from any accommodation it may afford to the Society

in question." No wonder the directors of the Society regarded him as the father of the enterprise. Elisha Boudinot, writing to him when the affairs of the concern were still in a chaotic state, said: "Do not let anything draw your attention from this great object, but look forward to those tranquil days when this child will be a Hercules, you sitting on the beautiful and tranquil banks of the Passaic, enjoying the fruits of your labor."

On October 12, Nicholas Low was elected governor and John Bayard deputy governor. At the same meeting John Campbell, of Philadelphia, and Michael Trappal, offered to enter into negotiations for establishing the manufacture of stockings in Paterson, but the directors did not take a favorable view of the proposition.

Hamilton was now more than occupied in repelling the attacks of his enemies in and out of Congress. Duer's failure undoubtedly affected him with an unpleasant sense of partial responsibility for his selection to be the trusted governor of the Society. Major L'Enfant, whom he had recommended for engineer, bade fair to ruin the enterprise by the grandeur of his projects, one of which was to divert the Passaic river into a magnificent aqueduct of stone, supported on arches of masonry, from the Passaic Falls to the head of navigation, where Passaic now stands, a distance of seven miles, with mills erected along the aqueduct or raceway—a scheme that would have absorbed more money than was invested in all the manufacturing establishments in America at that time. In February, 1793, the brilliant Frenchman was virtually superseded by Peter Colt, Treasurer of the State of Connecticut, a practical business man, familiar with finance. Under his superintendence a raceway was constructed, with the least possible cost, to secure immediate results. The witty Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, once had an opportunity of witnessing Mr. Colt's great enery in driving men, and on his return to England used to tell, with gusto, how Mr. Colt once kicked a lazy Irishman who was digging in one of the canals. Pat rubbed the afflicted part with a grimace, and exclaimed: "Be jabbers, an' if yez kick like that when ye're but a Colt, what'll ye do when yez get to be a horse?"

In February, 1793, it was agreed to rent to John Campbell, of Philadelphia, sufficient space in the mill about to be erected, for the introduction of the manufacture of stockings, and the superintendent was authorized to accommodate other intending manufacturers in a similar manner.

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Before cotton spinning was begun in the large mill, cotton was spun in a small temporary structure, the power being supplied by oxen, from which the building obtained its name as the "Bull Mill." In the meantime the building of the larger mill progressed; it was not occupied until the following year. The mill stood on Mill street—hence the name of the street—north of Market, and was four stories high, with a high basement. A large bell in the cupola summoned the operatives to work. When in full operation there were four carders, four roving billies, four stubbing machines, twenty-five spinning jennies and sixty single looms. The bleaching and printing works stood on what is now Bridge street, the bleach house being of frame, three stories high. Much of the machinery was imported, for there was hardly a machine shop in America. The workmen to set up the machinery, and the hands to operate it, were brought from Europe. Some of the iron and brass castings were brought from Wilmington, Delaware, the nearest source of supplies for such articles. Added to all these difficulties, the sum of \$50,000, sent abroad for the purchase of materials for manufacture, was lost through the dishonesty of the agent entrusted therewith. Foreign manufacturers began to flood the markets with the goods the Society had undertaken to produce.

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The name of Alexander Hamilton appears as a director for the first time at a meeting of the directors held on November 24, 1795. The subject of the lottery again bobbed up, the minutes reporting: "The superintendents of the lottery informing the board that the scheme offered to the public was too extensive and that they could not sell a sufficient number of tickets to warrant the drawing of the lottery—and the managers at the same time submitting to the board a scheme for raising only \$6,667.50, and the board taking the same into serious consideration, it is resolved that the first scheme be given up, that the managers be directed to carry the scheme now proposed into immediate execution, and that they be authorized to return the monies to all those who have paid for tickets in the first scheme where the holders do not choose to renew their tickets in the present scheme, and that the drawing of said lottery commence on the first Monday in February next at Newark." The lottery scheme proved a failure, a financial loss to the society.

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON AS A PROMOTER

On April 5, 1814, the governor reported the Society and Paterson to be in flourishing condition, the Society by means of having disposed of considerable real estate, Paterson by an increase in population and manufactures. It was then that Roswell L. Colt, "the greatest of all the Colts," as he is frequently termed, appeared on the scene, for he was appointed agent of the Society. At the next meeting he was elected governor, and he continued in that capacity for many years, although for some time the office was filled by Peter Colt, Roswell L. serving as deputy governor.

Roswell L. Colt died in 1856, since which time the office of governor of the Society has been held by the following: 1856, Morgan G. Colt; 1869, DeGrasse B. Fowler; 1877, Boudinot Colt; 1895, Garret A. Hobart; 1900, William Barbour; 1911, E. LeB. Gardner.

The Colt family, various members of which were more or less prominent in the early history of Paterson, were the descendants of some of the earliest settlers in this country. Peter, a native of Lyme, Connecticut, had a command in Aaron Burr's expedition to Canada, and was subsequently an aide to General Worcester. When the French under Lafayette and subsequently under Rochambeau came to this country, Peter Colt's knowledge of the French language was on frequent occasions made use of by General Washington in his intercourse with French officers. He was stationed with the French forces at the surrender of Cornwallis. After the war, returning to Connecticut, he was chosen treasurer of that State, and it was while holding that office that he was induced to come to Paterson at the solicitation of Dr. Elias Boudinot, one of the founders of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, the two men having met some years previous at Boonton, New Jersey.

John Colt was a son of Peter, and shared in his father's labors. His son, E. Boudinot Colt, was engaged in the manufacture of duck in the Duck Mill on Van Houten street and the Essex Mill on Mill street, as late as 1865, the output of his looms enjoying a nationwide reputation on account of their superiority.

Samuel Colt, a cousin of the foregoing, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, July 19, 1814, and died there January 10, 1862. In 1827 he ran away from school and shipped as a boy before the mast on a voyage to the East Indies. While so employed he conceived the idea of the revolving firearm which was to make his name familiar in all parts of the habitable globe. Upon his return home he was employ-

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ed in the bleaching and dyeing department of his father's cotton mill, and was taught chemistry by the superintendent, William T. Smith. After pursuing his studies for some time, he delivered lectures on chemistry in the United States and British America under the name of Dr. Coult. Having accumulated a few hundred dollars, he perfected a model of a revolving firearm he had made in 1829, and secured a patent in 1835. In the same year he formed the Patent Arms Company with a capital of \$300,000, and began the manufacture of revolvers in a building in Paterson known to the present day as the Gun Mill. Army officers regarded the invention with distrust, but the advantages of the weapon were shown in the Seminole War in Florida, and the employees of the Gun Mill were working overtime for some months. With the end of the Seminole War came a cessation of orders, and in 1842 the company suspended operations. In 1847 General Taylor demanded from the United States Ordnance Department a supply of Colt's revolvers, and the inventor was ordered to supply one thousand, the price fixed being \$28,000. Colt had sold the last of his revolvers to an Indian trader, and was compelled to make a new model to fill the order. The thousand revolvers supplied to General Taylor were made in Whitneyville, Connecticut, after which the factory was removed to Hartford.

Roswell L. Colt, "the greatest of all the Colts," as far as Colt activities in Paterson are concerned, was the younger son of Peter Colt. Early in life he acquired considerable interests in the shipping trade. In the course of this business he became acquainted with Robert Oliver, of Baltimore, one of the wealthiest men in the country, and shortly afterwards married his daughter. After a number of years residence in Connecticut and subsequently in New York City, Mr. Colt determined to remove to Paterson. He looked the ground over, and then borrowed \$150,000 from his father-in-law, with which he acquired real estate holdings in what is at present day Paterson and its vicinity. His family had increased by the addition of ten sons and daughters, and the question arose as to a proper home for all. Mr. Colt favored the small hill on Main street, between Grand and Ward, the same point which Major L'Enfant had looked upon as the proper central point for Paterson, from which streets and avenues were to radiate or circle. Mrs. Colt objected to this selection, expressing a decided preference for the

top of Garret Mountain, from which a magnificent view could be had of all the surrounding country.

Mr. Colt had in the meantime carried out his original plan for a residence. For many months numerous laborers were employed carting soil to the small sandhill which formed the nucleus of what was in after years known as Colt's Hill. Trees and shrubbery were removed from the mountain, and exotic plants of all kinds were crowded into the spacious hothouses. On the plateau on the top, a large mansion was erected in the colonial style, and for years the mansion rivalled in social affairs the best known homes in New York, the large stocks of foreign wines in the cellar doing their share towards promoting sociability. Nearly all the prominent men of the day at some time or other were the guests of Roswell L. Colt. Among the more frequent visitors was Daniel Webster, who in one of his letters speaks in enthusiastic terms of the present of a fine bull he had received from Mr. Colt. There is an interesting story—with no better foundation, however, than tradition—connected with what followed one of Webster's visits. Webster had tarried longer than had been expected in the genial companionship of Roswell L. Colt, and it was late when he arrived in New York, where he had promised to escort Mrs. Webster to Castle Garden to attend a concert in which Jenny Lind was the bright particular star. But Webster got there with Mrs. Webster. When Jenny Lind sang "The Star Spangled Banner," Webster's enthusiastic patriotism asserted itself. He arose in his seat and joined in the chorus. Remonstrances on the part of Mrs. Webster were not heeded. Webster urged the audience to join him, which they did, all rising in their seats. It is a fond belief deeply rooted in the hearts of many people of Paterson and elsewhere that it was this occasion which established the custom of audiences rising at the rendition of the national hymn and joining in the chorus.

The mansion on Colt's Hill was for many years the home of Roswell L. Colt and his four children—Thomas, Roswell, Jr., Morgan G. and Julia, the last named subsequently the wife of DeGrasse B. Fowler. During all these years, Roswell L. Colt practically directed the future of Paterson. His name is attached to numerous deeds of real estate donated for churches, cemeteries and educational purposes; although his principles were thoroughly democratic, he ruled Paterson as an autocrat, for little was done without his consent and assistance and frequently his initiative.

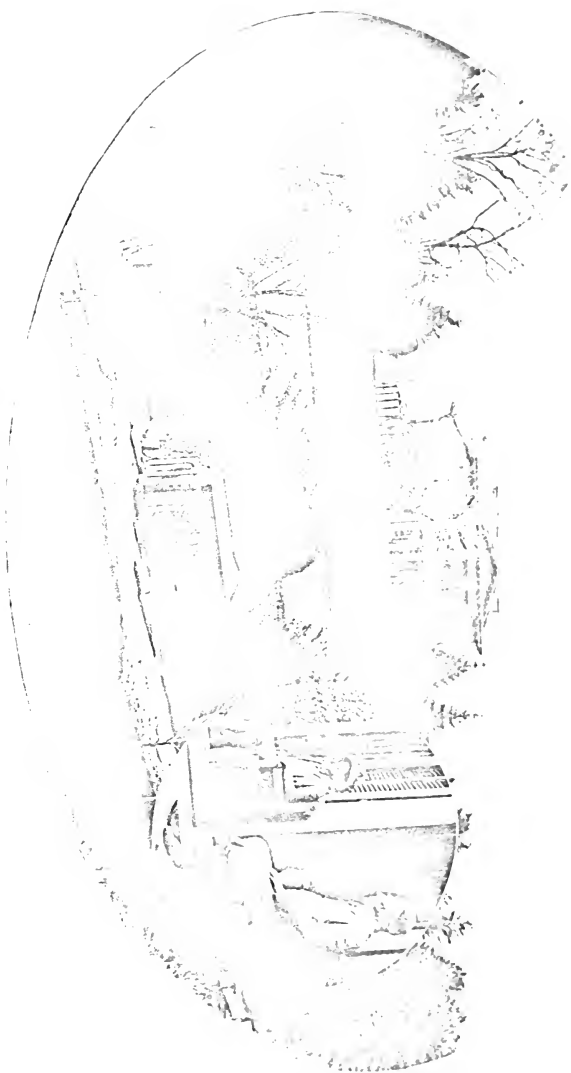


ALEXANDER HAMILTON AS A PROMOTER

A photograph of Colt's Hill, from which was made the accompanying illustration, was taken from the top of St. John's Catholic Church, when that edifice was in course of construction. Two roads led to the mansion, one from what is now DeGrasse street, the other from the corner of Main and Ward streets; the dwelling of the keeper and the hothouses show in the illustration. The building, of brown sandstone from the Little Falls quarries, still stands on the corner of Main and Ward streets; the hill itself and the other buildings belong to the past.

In the circle in the illustration appear two statues, and these are also visible in the main picture; and from a date shortly after the completion of the mansion to the day when Colt's Hill was razed in order that it might no longer retard the march of improvement, these statues stood guard, one on each side of the main entrance to the building. The history of these statues is one of interest. James Thom was born near the birthplace of Robert Burns, April 19, 1802. His parents were poor, and he was set to work in a factory when he was a mere child. He was fond of whittling objects out of wood and, encouraged by the approbation of his fellows, essayed some carving in stone. His talent having been recognized, he was induced to attempt a heroic statue of "Tam O'Shanter," an aged employee in the factory serving as a model. The committee in charge of the erection of the Burns monument at Alloway induced him to make a companion piece, a statue of "Souter Johnnie." The committee exhibited the statues through Scotland, England and Ireland, netting the sum of £2,000, of which Thom received one-half. In a short time Thom had orders for sixteen replicas of the two statues, and soon the population of the British Isles was considerably increased by numerous editions of "Tams and Johnnies" in wood, plaster and various kinds of metals. Thom tried his hand at other subjects, but the result seemed to indicate that he had exhausted the fertility of his genius by his productions of the Burns characters. A pair of the statues had been on exhibition for some months in England, when the agent in charge thereof decamped to America. Thom took the next vessel for these shores, and was successful in recovering most of the money due him. His fame as sculptor had preceded him, and he was offered the contract for making the ornamental stonework on the steeple of Trinity Church, which edifice was then rebuilding. He looked about him for suitable material and having

THOM'S STATUE AT COLT'S HILL, PATERSON



found it at Little Falls, within five miles of Paterson, he accepted the offer. It was but natural that he should visit Paterson, and it was just as natural that he should become acquainted with Roswell L. Colt. At his suggestion he made another "Tam and Johnnie" at Little Falls, and these he sold to Mr. Colt. He quickly produced another pair, and these were started on a tour for exhibition. They were shown in New York and Philadelphia; a storm on Chesapeake Bay arrested their triumphant progress, for the vessel containing them foundered, and "Tam and Johnnie" have never been rescued from their watery grave. The work on Trinity Church occupied Thom's time, and, when that was completed, Thom had enough money to purchase a farm near Ramapo, where he spent the rest of his days, his death occurring on April 17, 1850.

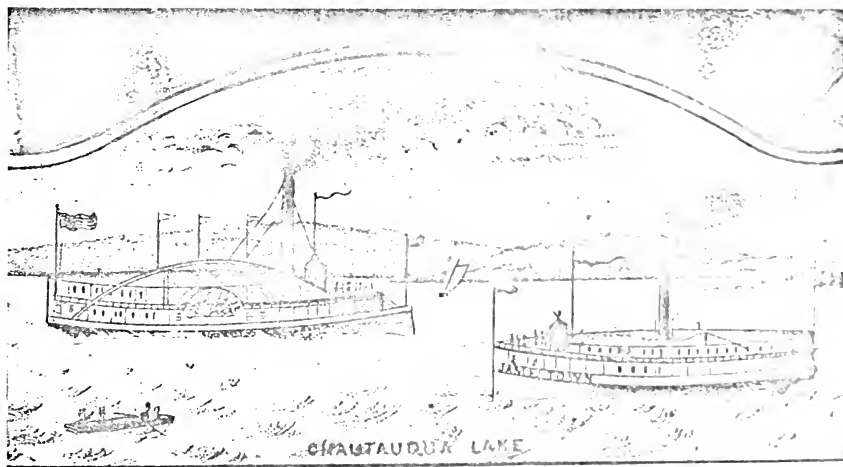
"Tam O'Shanter" and "Souter Johnnie" stood at the entrance to the mansion on Colt's Hill for many years after Roswell L. Colt had passed to the beyond; the mansion was uninhabited, but the people of Paterson were fond of roaming over the grounds, and as a matter of course paying their respects to "Tam O'Shanter" and "Souter Johnnie." School children enjoyed climbing over the statues, and when the use of cameras was no longer confined to studios, "Tam and Johnnie" were numerously photographed. In 1891 preparations were made for the razing of the hill, and it was necessary to find a new home for "Tam and Johnnie." There would have been no difficulty in finding a purchaser, but the owners, Morgan G. Colt and Mrs. DeGrasse B. Fowler, the surviving children of Roswell L. Colt, thought it would be a pity to send them into a country strange to them; the stuff they were made of came from the bowels of the earth near Paterson, and they had certainly been in Paterson long enough to claim citizenship. So the owners of the pair offered them to the Paterson Free Public Library, a gift which was thankfully accepted. They were placed in the vestibule of the library building on the corner of Church and Market streets. But their sojourn there was a short one, for a day of reckoning comes for people who dwell in intimate association with the flowing bowl, even if these people are made of Little Falls sandstone. During the night of February 9, 1902, "Tam and Johnnie" disappeared. That was the night of the great fire which swept away a large portion of Paterson, including the public library. What became of "Tam and Johnnie" is not positively known. The probability is that between

fire, water and falling masonry, they were ushered out of existence with not enough of them left even for the most enterprising coroner to hold an inquest on. There is, however, a story which bobs up occasionally, to the effect that the two statues were not destroyed by fire, but that they were removed by some enterprising citizen who is keeping them in seclusion until such time when no law may call him to account, a story which finds corroboration in the fact that no part of the statues was found in the ruins, although the statues stood near the street, but is almost negatived by the improbability that any person could or would remove in such hours of excitement works of stone weighing several hundred weight each.





ON THE OUTLET



FROM AN OLD MAP

Steamboats of Chautauqua Lake

By T. HENRY BLACK, JAMESTOWN, NEW YORK



WHEN a boy, living at Long Point, Lake Chautauqua, the writer became so interested in the steamers that he knew them intimately, and being somewhat of an artist he sketched in freehand drawings the then existing boats. He also conceived the idea of a brief description of each steamer, never thinking that later in life he would have the privilege of making his dreams come true. It was only when a representative of The American Historical Society called at the studio for photos of some lake steamers to use in connection with a "History of Chautauqua County" that the devoting of a special chapter to the steamers was first considered. Fortunately a valuable collection of the old-time steamers had been preserved, which with those of more recent years have been drawn upon for illustrations. The history of means of transportation in use in any community is really a history of the minds and methods of that community during any given period, and it is interesting to contrast the means used in transporting people and goods in each period with those of later years. On Chautauqua Lake the first mention of a boat to transport freight is of a hewn out log canoe, then came the horse-boat, next the sailing craft, and finally the steamboat.

It is difficult to give any detailed account of the first steamers, or boats, as the historians of the lake have been content to chronicle the fact of their existence. Had the art of photography been then developed to anything like its present perfection, it would have been possible to give a reproduction of the old log canoe, the curious horse-boat, and the first steamer. However, much has been done in later days to preserve the story and appearance of these boats, and herein some of the more famous boats are reproduced.

While Chautauqua Lake is the same to-day as when the Indian drove his birch canoe across its waters, to those whose lives have been spent along its shores it seems different, with its hotels, parks,

STEAMBOATS OF CHAUTAUQUA LAKE

and trolleys, but its romance lingers, and its beauty appeals as well to the native son as to the tourist. At one time many of the boats bore Indian names—Hiawatha, Winona, Minnehaha, names conferred in tribute to the beautiful imagery employed by the Indians in selecting names, and particularly were they appropriate to the boats that plied the lake with the beautiful Indian name "Chautauqua."

To give in detail the history of each steamer which has appeared on the lake since the *Chautauqua* was built in 1827, would be to largely overrun the limits allotted to this subject. Nevertheless it would be a matter of most interesting nature, and would vividly recall facts and incidents of lake traffic well worthy of preservation, for the boats of the olden time made history. In those days the steamers furnished the only quick mode of transportation between Jamestown and Mayville, the railroad and the electric car being then far in the future, and the appearance of each new boat marked an epoch in county history. When competition between rival lines began, the desire for finer equipment and faster boats was generated, until a climax was reached about 1882, when Henry Harley, the oil operator, "Pipe Line Harley," took over the control and management of the Chautauqua Lake Navigation Company, which the following year became the Chautauqua Lake Transit Company. The opposing line was built and owned by the Burroughs Brothers, famous builders of Lake Chautauqua steamers, theirs the "People's Line." The *Cincinnati*, *Buffalo*, *Alaska*, and others, were contemporary, and races were run between the steamers, which rivaled in excitement and interest those on the Mississippi river in the olden days.

The first mention of any attempt to navigate Chautauqua Lake with commercial intent was in 1806, when the big log canoe built by Robert Miles began to make lake history. The Miles canoe was in service as a freight carrier until 1824, when the bursting of a dam caused the destruction of this first of all lake boats of a commercial character. Keel and Durham boats which made trips between Chautauqua county points and Pittsburgh were often seen on the lake during that period, but they were built for another purpose, and lake travel was but an incident. The famous "horse-boat" was next to appear on the lake as a freight carrier, and that boat, steered by Captain William Carpenter, was a wonderful sight, although not a

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financial success nor a speed marvel. It is worthy of note that this Captain William Carpenter, an Englishman, drove the first mail coach between Jamestown and Mayville, was steersman of the "horseboat," and when the first steamboat was put on the lake he was also a steersman.

The "horse-boat" was built in 1824 by Elisha Allen, and was little more than a scow with a cabin on one side for passengers and stables for eight horses on the other. There were small paddle wheels on either side, and a large wheel in the center connected by gearing with the shaft of the paddle wheels. This center wheel was put in motion by four horses, and they furnished the entire power, each team of four horses being kept at work one hour. The trip from Jamestown to Mayville consumed ten hours when everything went well, but it was not uncommon for a round trip to consume a week. The boat gave way the second year to the schooner *Mink* and to scows with sails, which competed for the freight business between Mayville and Jamestown.

In 1827 Alvah Plumb formed a company and built the first steamboat for Chautauqua Lake, a staunch boat, built of the best white oak timbers by a ship carpenter named Richards, from Buffalo. The steamboat was launched from the yards on the outlet in May, 1827, the event being duly celebrated. All the usual launching conventions were observed, even to the breaking of a bottle of currant wine on the boat's bow as the words "I name thee *Chautauqua* were uttered. The boat was soon finished and painted, a figure of a woman's head and bust placed on her bow, and machinery installed which was brought from Pittsburgh by Phineas Palmeter and an engineer named Starring. The last of June the *Chautauqua* made her trial, and the first trip to Mayville was made July 4, 1827, Captain John T. Willson in command. Captain Willson was captain for one year, then was succeeded by Captain David S. Walbridge (later Congressman from the State of Michigan). After him came Captain Phineas Palmeter, who was succeeded by Captain George W. Kellogg, and he by Captain James Hill. In 1835 the *Robert Falconer*, a larger and faster boat, was built and commanded by Captain Kellogg, and run in opposition to the *Chautauqua*, which was under the command of Captain Hill. The *Robert Falconer* was later named the *William H. Seward* and still later the *Empire*.

In 1848 Captain George Stoneman (father of General Stoneman)

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launched *The Twins*, a curious boat, being two large canoes fastened side by side a few feet apart and planked over. *The Twins* propelled by horse power, occasionally carried freight between Mayville and Jamestown, and in 1851 the *Hollam Vail* was built. She ran one season, and in the fall of 1852 burned at her dock. The *Water Witch*, built about 1852 by M. P. Bemus and others, was a failure, and either sank or was burned at her dock. The *C. C. Dennis*, a large boat with the best equipment of any boat on the lake for many years, was built in 1856 by Captain Gardner. She was run for several years, until the close of 1861, when the machinery was removed, and the hull of the boat taken to a spot on the outlet, where it was allowed to decay. Captain James Murray, when he first came to Jamestown, was connected with the operation of the *C. C. Dennis*. He was afterward owner and captain of the second steamer to be named *Chautauqua*, and was in command when her boiler exploded, with a sad loss of life.

The *Chautauqua No. 2* was built in 1863 by the Howell brothers and Alfred Wilcox. She passed through various ownerships until in August, 1871, she blew up, with the loss of eight lives, while taking on wood at Whitney's Landing, about six miles from Mayville. The *Post Boy*, owned by Peter Colby, first appeared on the lake in 1867. She burned in 1869, her name having been changed to *A. R. Trew* after her purchase by Alfred Wilcox.

Charles Brown and Ray Scofield built the *Jamestown* in 1869. Charles G. Maples bought Scofield's interest and commanded her in 1870. The *Jamestown* was rebuilt and enlarged and fitted with a screw propeller after her purchase by Captain T. H. Grandin. In the fall of 1875 she burned at her dock in Jamestown.

The *P. J. Hanour*, built for Beck & Griffith in 1874, was commanded by Fred W. Griffith, and burned in the fall of the same year. Captain Griffith then built the *M. A. Griffith*, which he ran during the season of 1875. Her upper works were destroyed by fire at the same time the steamer *Jamestown* was destroyed, but she was rebuilt.

The *May Martin*, a stern-wheel steamer, was built in Jamestown in 1875 by Dr. W. B. Martin of Busti, and Frank Steele of Jamestown. She was built for excursion parties and could then navigate the outlet as far up as the railroad station. Other boats of that period were the *A. R. Trew*, *M. A. Griffith*, and the *P. J.*

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Hanour. The *J. M. Burdick*, a small steam yacht, owned in Mayville, was chiefly used in the upper lake for pleasure parties. The *C. J. Hepburn*, a steam yacht, was also owned in Mayville, and used as an excursion boat.

The *Nettie Fox* was built in Jamestown in the spring of 1875 for C. J. Fox and Captain Robert Jones, by Isaac Hammutt, of Pittsburgh. She was the first stern-wheel steamer on the lake, and was run on strictly temperance principles, no liquor being sold or kept on board. She was one hundred and seventy feet in length, with main, boiler, hurricane, and promenade decks, and a ladies' cabin with staterooms. After being remodeled in 1875, she was renamed *Jamestown*.

In 1873 the *Colonel William Phillips* was built at Bemus Point, and owned by Captain William H. Whitney. She was a side-wheel boat, the only one on the lake at that time.

The *Josie Bell*, built in 1875, a pleasure boat fifty-five feet in length, had the honor of carrying President Grant from Jamestown to Fair Point in August, 1875. The *Nereus* conveyed the President from Fair Point to Mayville. Other small boats of that period were the *Hettie Hooker*, owned by Fox & Lytle; the *Oliver Hepburn*, and the *Lotus*, all owned in Mayville. The *W. B. Shattuck* was built by A. Shattuck in 1879, the year of the great Courtney-Hanlan fiasco, when Courtney's boats at Mayville were put out of commission the night preceeding the race which was to have decided the rowing championship of the world. The recent death of Mr. Courtney (1920) recalls that deeply regretted event, which is yet a matter of argument in the sporting world. The race was to have been rowed on Lake Chautauqua, and was awarded to Hanlan, Courtney, without racing boats, being unable to appear.

The *Fearless*, *Derby*, *Olivia*, *Hettie Hooker*, and *Allaquippa* were all boats of the period 1875-1880. Following, in 1880, was the *John F. Moulton*, built by G. A. Wegeforth, and later remodeled and renamed the *New York*. The *J. A. Burch*, built by Burroughs Brothers, was later named *Hiawatha*, and renamed the *Chicago*; she was finally destroyed by fire. Then came the *Alaska*; *Captain True*; *The Mystery*; the *Henry Hurley*, built by Cornell & Wilcox, and later called *Columbia*; the *Cincinnati*, built by Burroughs Brothers in 1880-81; the *G. J. Cornell*, built in 1882; the *R. N. Marvin*, by Robert Cooper & Sons in 1881; the *City of Buffalo*, built by Bur-



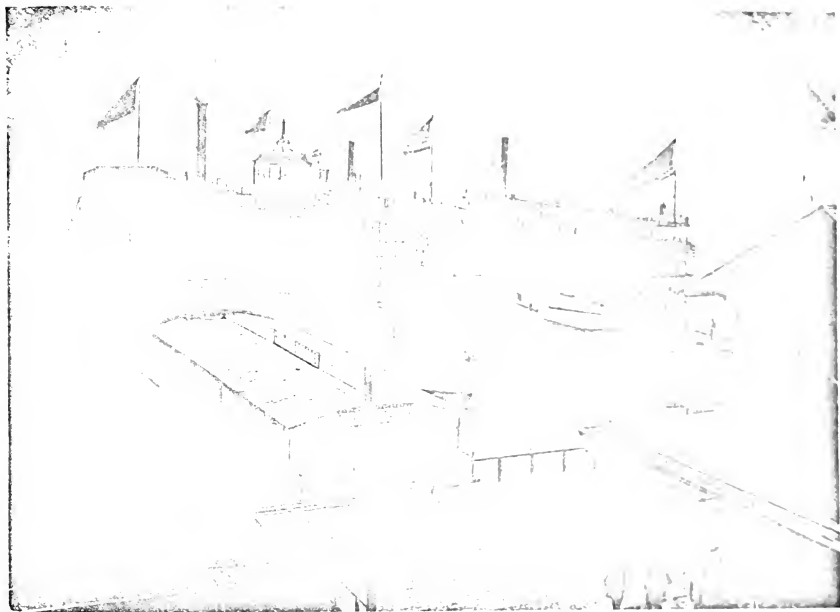
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roughs Brothers in 1889; the *City of Cleveland*, by the same builders in 1891-92, she the last large steamer to be launched on the lake. The third steamer to bear the name *City of Jamestown* was built in 1910.

A number of smaller steamers in the early days of navigation worthy of mention were the steamer *Nydia*, owned by George Munroe, built in Jamestown in 1887; steamer *Dispatch*, Johnson and Peterson, built in 1881; steamer *Goldie*, owned by Major Stevens, built in Buffalo in 1884; steamer *Wooglin*, built at Mayville, rebuilt in 1885; steamer *J. H. Lytle*, owned by Horace Fox, built at Mayville in 1885; steamer *Mabel*, owned by Henry Fry, built at Mayville in 1885, Captain Fred J. Vanceise; steamer *Alert*, owned by Ben Firman and George Munroe, built at Jamestown, in 1888.

In 1879, A. M. Kent brought the steamer *Waukegan* from Pittsburgh for service on Lake Chautauqua. She was the first all steel boat on the lake, her speed twenty miles per hour. A fast boat, brought from the seacoast, was the *Greenhurst* (later the *Louise*), a boat designed by Herreschoff, of American cup defender fame. There were other boats brought to Lake Chautauqua, but nearly all that ply the lake were home built. The fleet now owned and operated during the open season by the Lake Chautauqua Navigation Company consists of six steamers: The *New York*, carrying capacity 850; *Buffalo*, 800; *Cincinnati*, 750; *Cleveland*, 500; *Chadakoin*, 75; *Mayville*, 75.

August 14, 1871, the most terrible calamity that ever visited this section occurred at Whitney's Landing, in the bay of the same name, on the western shore of Lake Chautauqua. The steamer *Chautauqua* which left Jamestown at four p. m. with about thirty passengers and crew on board, increased by half a dozen at Bemus Point, had come to the dock to take on wood, and while lying there the boiler exploded, tearing the boat to pieces and filling the air with flying timbers and human bodies. The sound of the explosion was heard miles away, and assistance was quickly forthcoming. The explosion occurred at 6.20, the steamer having been lying at the dock for about ten minutes, the engine room apparently deserted, with the steam guage rising. Suddenly, without warning, came a terrific report, the whole bow of the boat going into the air in pieces. The stern was rent in fragments, and for twenty rods around, the



WHARF AT MAYVILLE



WRECK OF CHAUTAUQUA, NO. 2

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water and land was covered with broken timbers, with here and there a mangled bleeding form. Every part of the boiler was blown out of the boat. Four persons were instantly killed and four more did not survive the night. The dead were: Mrs. J. C. Cochrane; Mrs. Perry Aiken; Mrs. Jerusha Hopkins and her two daughters, Misses Julia and Eunice; Iduca Eells, a child of four years; Mrs. Samuel Bartholomew; and Henry Cook, colored. The badly injured were: John Bemus, Alvin Plumb, Dan. P. Eells, W. S. Cameron; James M. Murray, captain of the *Chautauqua*; Fred Johnson, pilot; Joseph Brown, Caleb Norton, Cornelius Shaw, Mrs. Elizabeth Leach. The marvel was that any escaped.

The answer to the call for help was immediate, doctors and supplies being hurried to the spot as soon as the news of the tragedy spread. Houses nearby were opened, and the farmers were at once on the spot with such supplies as they could furnish. The houses of A. H. Whitney, Alonzo Whitney and Norman Newbury sheltered the dead and the dying, and all night long these families ministered to the injured.

The cause of the explosion was found to be carelessness on the part of those in charge of the engine and boiler. This sad happening cast a gloom over the lake section and was long the subject of much speculation as to the party or parties responsible for the great loss of life and for the destruction of the steamer. An excellent photo of the boat taken after the explosion appears in this work. Probably the most interesting steamer on the lake from a romantic point of view was the old steamer *Jamestown*, commanded by Captain "Ted" Grandin, who made history for himself and his boat. He was an imposing figure when fully dressed, and, occasionally wearing a big stovepipe hat, he stood with one foot on the rail issuing his commands in no gentle voice or language, but it was remarkable how well he was obeyed. Those were days of keen competition, and when two steamers made a landing at about the same time, rival agents and crews frequently had fistie encounters over passengers awaiting their coming. Racing was frequently indulged in, but the *Jamestown* was a slow moving boat and could not compete in speed contests, but she was popular nevertheless, and always carried the crowd. The moonlight excursions on the *Jamestown* were very popular, the many quiet, secluded corners lending themselves willingly, it would seem, to the couples who, after dancing on

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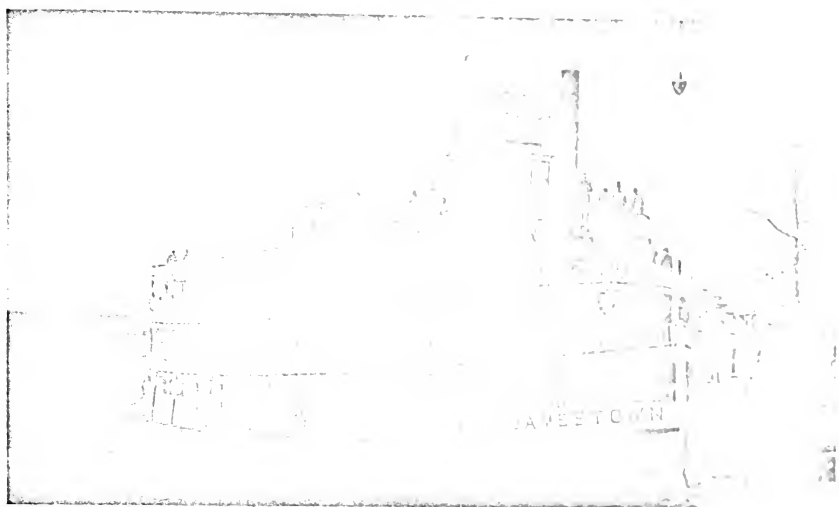
the upper decks, would seek their shelter, as lovers will. In fact the boat carried an atmosphere of pleasure, and when that dreaded marine foe—fire—swept her from the lake, the many who had trod her deck on pleasure bent sincerely mourned as though for a friend.

The two fastest boats of the period were the *Hiawatha* and the *Cincinnati*, owned by rival companies. The captains of these boats never declined a race against each other, although the *Cincinnati* was a shade the faster boat. The rules of the lake decreed that when two steamers were approaching the same landing, the one first at the whistling buoy had the right of way, but in the heat of a race this little rule was sometimes overlooked, and dire were the results. On one occasion the *Hiawatha* and the *Cincinnati* reached a whistling buoy simultaneously, and both made for the landing, the *Hiawatha* on the inside first reaching the dock. So great was her speed, however, that the lines thrown out to check her speed parted, and she swept along, taking a few spiles from the dock with her. The *Cincinnati* checking her speed sooner, quickly made the dock, and carried off all but a few of the waiting passengers, which the beaten *Hiawatha* backed in and took on board.

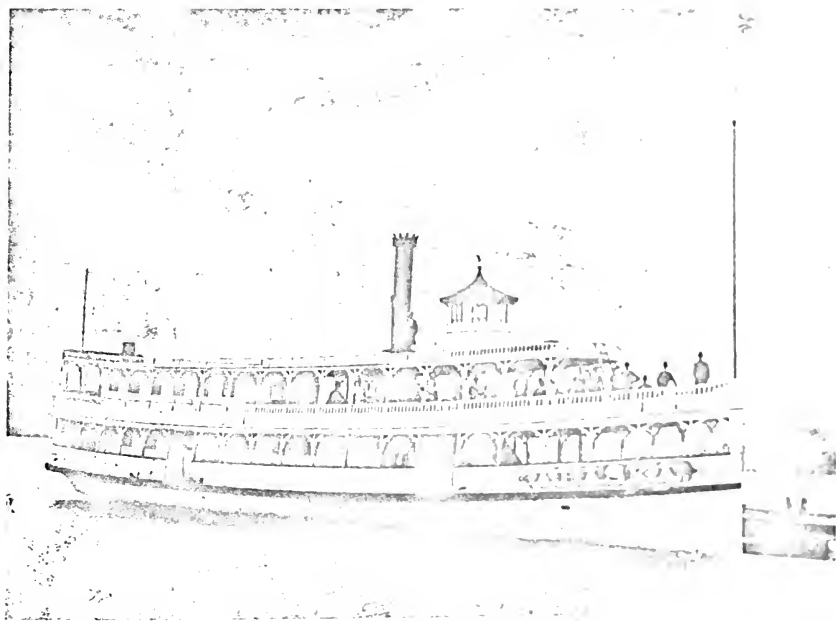
The *Josie Bell* one day attempted to save time by cutting across Busti Bay, but miscalculating, ran aground on the shoals, her passengers having to be taken off in small boats to a steamer sent to their assistance.

The *Louise* on one occasion was racing with one of the large steamers in the narrow outlet, and, coming too close, the suction from the larger boat drew her against the gunwale and a serious accident was only averted by those on the *Louise* scrambling quickly on board the large steamer. The laws were adequate but were not always observed, the rival captains taking long chances, and if successful were the "heroes" of the moment.

Captain "Ted" Grandin was the most picturesque of the old-time captains, and the best known. Among the owners, Henry Harley was conspicuous. He was a man of great energy, and whatever he touched he vitalized and endowed with new life. Thus when he obtained control of a lake line of steamers a new era was ushered in. He built a handsome summer residence on the shores of the bay at Long Point, the writer's father being for nine years superintendent of the Harley estate. Those were happy years for the lad, who had nothing to do but amuse himself and aid in amusing others with



CHAUTAUQUA'S LARGEST STEAMER



THE FAVORITE BOAT OF ITS DAY

STEAMBOATS OF CHAUTAUQUA LAKE

boat, rod, or line. Long Point in those days was the favorite picnic grounds, and nearly all excursions or picnics came there for the day. Volumes could be written concerning the methods Mr. Harley used to popularize the lake and his lake boats. One season he brought the Madrigal Boys, a choir of thirty voices, from New York, and had them give daily concerts on the lake boats. The boys camped at Long Point, and in their natty sailor suits proved a strong attraction, while their sweet singing won all hearts. On the lawn of the Harley mansion a great flag pole was erected, from the top of which an American flag floated from sunrise until sunset. It was the custom for every steamer of the Harley line to salute the flag when passing the house, and woe be to the pilot who "forgot."

But the old days have gone, and steamboating on Chautauqua Lake is now a modern business, the gayhearted crowds which thronged the boats now being divided into smaller parties traveling to lake points by private conveyance, auto or yacht, by trolley or steam car, the glory of the steamers having in a measure departed. But the beauties of the outlet and the lake remain, and of all who visit the resorts of the old lake there are none who carry away such pleasant recollections as those who made the circuit of the lake from the Jamestown docks on one of the excursion steamers.

NOTE—The foregoing narrative, with the accompanying illustrations, is reproduced from "History of Chautauqua County and Its People," recently out of press. (Three volumes, American Historical Society, Inc., New York and Chicago).



Alaska

THE LAND OF POSSIBILITIES

By AMELIA DAY CAMPBELL, NEW YORK CITY



LASKA is rapidly losing her claim to being a land of mystery, and is fast becoming known for the variety and vastness of her resources, and appreciated because of the great revenue they bring to our Government and the needed supplies to our people, so that commercially she "is on the map," and every day brings tales of additional means through which the world will benefit by her wealth. Only a few short months ago, Secretary Daniels went there, presumably in the interest of coal, and as the Government railroad already traverses one of the coal mining sections, it will be a much easier matter to coal our Pacific fleet from Alaska than by hauling it across the Rockies or shipping it through the Panama Canal from the eastern mines. And now comes the news that the great and serious shortage of paper, especially newsprint paper, is to be overcome by utilizing the resources of the vast Alaskan forests which can supply one hundred million cords of pulp wood, keeping mills busy for the next thirty years, and, with the additional supply which the Government will reserve, another fifteen years can be added to the thirty before the present growth is exhausted. In fact, it is estimated that this will become one of the three important industries and on a par with Fisheries and Mining.

To the excessive moisture, warmth of the Japan current and the long days, are due the gigantic growth of the forests along this southern strip of Alaska, the same as in California and the entire Northern Pacific coast. The yellow cedar has great commercial value, which during the war passed the test for airplanes. The balsam fir is used for tanning, and the Sitka or Alaska spruce is much in demand for native houses, mining camps, and for boarding over their roads and village streets.

Until 1906 there were practically no roads, so that travel was



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confined almost entirely to the waterways, of which four thousand miles were navigable, but as these routes were only open for a few short summer months, travel and shipping were icebound for many months, and mail was received at infrequent intervals in the far north regions, for it had to be sent over ice and snow by dog teams. So when roads were provided for, they were built where they would do the most good to the entire territory. Fairbanks, up near the center of Alaska, is the center of the road system, from which place communication can be had with the outside world, and wagon transportation is now possible to the many mining camps where formerly supplies were sent by pack trains over the narrow and dangerous trails. In summer there is a passenger automobile service for tourists and miners, but in winter horse sleds handle the traffic, mail, etc., many times four horses being required to make the trips from one stage point to another. In 1918 there were 920 miles of wagon roads, built at a cost of \$3,144 per mile; 629 miles of winter sled roads, costing \$345 per mile; and 2,210 miles of trails, costing \$106 per mile. In the same year there were 547 miles of railroad, and the Government is as rapidly as possible building a railroad that will connect Fairbanks with the Pacific Ocean, which will revolutionize trade and travel conditions.

It would seem that these standardized modes of travel are to be supplemented by the airplane, for last August four Government airplanes arrived safely at Nome on Seward Peninsula, having made the journey from Mincola, Long Island, in fifty-six hours actual flying time, "which demonstrated the feasibility of establishing mail, express and passenger communication with Alaska by air" at no distant day, and thus another pioneer undertaking has been successfully accomplished.

The spirit of adventure which brought the Pilgrims to our shores three hundred years ago, and which kept them here despite almost unendurable privations and hardships, is an hereditary characteristic of our race which produces the venturesome explorer, the home-seeking pioneer, the pleasure-loving traveller, the daring aviator, the historical novelist—all of whom contribute toward bringing nearer together the "uttermost parts of the earth," making neighbors of all nationalities, broadening our horizon and viewpoint—the result being a greater tolerance and understanding of the customs and characteristics not of our own standards.

And so the opening up of Alaska and the navigation of her tributary waters has brought us right up close to Russia, till "hands across the sea" is an accessible fact, but not an accomplished one. But we must see to it that the hand stretched out to us is not that of the incendiary against our Government; and that ours is extended for the well-being of that great country which at present is enduring the pangs of rebirth. The desperateness of their painful struggle must be ameliorated by the healing powers of assistance, of sympathy, of education and discipline. Too long have these people been serfs and slaves of a system which gives no advancement or progress to the *individual*.

Alaska is still reminiscent of Russia's dominion, in the towns of Russian name throughout the settled parts of the country, also in the Asiatic and Esquimeau type of Indians who inhabit these towns, as well as those of more recent date and American origin. The Indians are employed in the canneries, the mines and the fisheries, and many of them greatly resemble Chinamen. They are diligent, have a fair intelligence, and are law-abiding citizens—those that are left—but the white man's diseases, from which it is almost impossible for them to recover, have exterminated most of those original settlers. Measles and consumption are usually fatal, and the "flu" wiped out nearly the entire Indian population of the Aleutian Islands during the winter of 1918-1919.

Probably one of the greatest tragedies in Indian life has been caused by the white man's "firewater." When they once got a taste of it they went to any lengths to get it, and were so intemperate in its use and misuse that many tribes literally drank themselves to death. Originally the Indians were warriors, and they made a wonderful picture skimming over the water in their eighty and one hundred foot canoes hollowed out of one long yellow cedar tree, with the crest of the chief on the prow, which he had earned by his prowess and exploits. These canoes were capable of carrying seventy-five men with their bows and arrows, spears, and shields of thick walrus hide, and Admiral Lutke called them "The Cossacks of the Sea." Good examples of these canoes are to be found in Alert Bay on Vancouver Island, where they are drawn up alongside the Indian burying ground, for the canoe of a chief is never used after he dies.

Only fifty-three years have elapsed since Congress, much against its better judgment, closed the deal for "Seward's Iceberg," even

though the purchase price averaged less than \$12.50 per *square mile*—a country one-fifth the size of the United States. No matter whether it was a vision of future values, or just an investment expected to give a fair return on the money expended, Secretary Seward declared this purchase to be the most important transaction of his official career, and the fact is becoming more and more evident that commercially its importance increases daily, while as a recreation ground we predict it will some day rival many of the fashionable social resorts of our country. People want the unusual, the variety, both of which are abundantly found in Alaska.

The "Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes" fittingly describes a portion of this Peninsula, for Alaska was formed by volcanic eruption, the west coast and the seventy treeless islands forming the Aleutian group (only twenty of which are inhabited) being of recent upheaval, while many islands in the Behring Sea are still rising. These volcanic forces are responsible for the numerous hot springs of great value and of chemical and curative qualities. The Hot Springs of the Serpentine near Nome on Seward Peninsula is the fashionable health resort, while the Hot Springs on Baker Creek in Tanana Valley have the greatest reputation and have become a favorite watering place.

Much of the charm and mystery of Alaska were founded on the supposed terrors of cold, inaccessibility, and impassible snows. True, the Arctic portion of this Territory is cold. At Point Barrow, the northernmost point of land, which few people reach, the sun is absent for forty days, so that the winters are long and the summers short. In July the temperature is 39 above, and in January, the coldest month, 21 below zero, while the average temperature from November to April is 13 below. In the summer of 1920, for the first time in two years, the revenue cutter *Bear* succeeded in breaking the icepack and reaching Point Barrow, which must have brought joy and delight to the Rev. Dr. Frank H. Spence, Presbyterian missionary, who is the only white inhabitant of this place, the others being natives. On the other hand, at least four-fifths of this north country, especially along the waterways, has a surprisingly mild climate. As a matter of fact, the temperature seldom goes below zero in winter or above 80 degrees in summer in the Sitkan or southeastern part. In midsummer the days are extremely long, and as far south as Pyramid Harbor the sun does not set until about

2 o'clock in the morning, rising again four hours later, and even during those few hours it is possible to read fine print. At Sitka there is no night at all, but in winter only six hours of daylight.

Due to the long days, flowers attain a size of nine inches in *diameter*, and only twelve strawberries will fill a quart measure. It has been estimated that 100,000 square miles are suitable for agricultural purposes along the river valleys. Potatoes are raised in sufficient quantities to meet the demand, oats and barley are extensively grown, and rye in fair quantities.

The advancement that has been made in travel can be realized when no longer ago than 1889, Martin M. Ballou in his "The New Labrador" said, "The trip to Sitka and back is easily accomplished in three months." The trip to Skaguay, very much farther north, is now made in *nine days*, there and back to Vancouver. There are three very accessible trips for tourists. The most popular and well known is the southeastern route through Sitkan Alaska, for which one takes a steamer at Seattle or Vancouver through the Inland Passage to Skaguay, with stops at Alert Bay (if via Vancouver), then Ketchikan, Wrangell and Juneau. Another is the south-western trip, which includes the above route to Juneau, and from there on to Cordova and to Seward, touching at Valdez and other ports. The third is the boat trip direct from Seattle by way of the Pacific Ocean to Nome on Seward Peninsula. Nome can also be reached by the first route to Skaguay, then by railroad to White Horse, then steamer to Dawson, changing to another steamer for the trip down the Yukon river. When the government railroad is finished from Seward to Fairbanks, the second trip can be extended.

It matters not which route one takes, the magnetism and charm of the everchanging scenery fascinates and beckons one on and on. To one the attraction is gold, to another fisheries, to still another hunting big game or trapping fur-bearing animals, to others the pleasure of beholding all that comes within the range of vision, enjoying the long days of the midnight sun—but to all, a fascination that is irresistible and which overrides all thought of hardship and possible obstacles to be encountered. Ballou says he has made the trip to Skaguay nine times, and "to me the landscape has never been twice alike, with its shifting lights, changing seasons and varying weather, affording the same pleasure for study and observation as a beautiful woman in her capricious moods. Along the Alas-

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ka coast the elements of sea and mountain, of glacier and craig and vegetation, take on such subtle qualities of beauty and tenderness, of grandeur and picturesqueness, as to bewilder the traveller when he pauses to analyze and compare."

The Inland Passage is a very wonderful waterway, of such depth that ocean-going steamers would have no difficulty in traversing its entire course from Seattle to Skaguay. On the other hand, the Yukon river, which cuts across Alaska and divides it into two parts, although 1500 miles long is very shallow, and freight has to be transferred from ocean steamers to river boats. The width of the river is ten and in some places thirty miles, but it has a shallow sandy bottom. The Coast Range mountains, which run parallel along the east coast of the Inland Passage, have many peaks rising 6,000 and 8,000 feet, the tops being covered with snow for 2,000 feet. "The mountain barrier to the west shields the Inland Passage from the Arctic winds, and the Japanese current which flows along the Pacific Coast fills the air with vapor which the prevailing western winds drive against the icy mountains, converting the warm vapor into almost perpetual rain and fog." According to statistics, the rainfall is 60 to 90 inches, and the days of rain during the year range from 190 to 285.

Alert Bay is the first stop on the Inland Passage trip, and here is an Indian settlement of the truest type—descendants of the Haidas tribe. The village consists of one long street, with rows of houses on one side only, and facing the water. The Indian houses have the totem (tribal pole) at the entrance, and their native name is Ko-te-a, meaning likeness or image. The Indian burying ground is at the far end of the village, some of the graves being marked by totems, others surrounded by peculiar fences. Most of the totems are painted in brilliant colors, and, though weatherbeaten, still retain their color. An exception, however, was the totem to Arthur Dawson, a young Indian chief of nineteen who committed suicide during the war, and whose totem is black and white.

At the opposite end of the village is an English church. The Christian religion is embraced by many of the Indians, and almost all of the marriages are Christian ceremonies; their children also receive Christian baptism. At the same time, the old superstitions and traditions still continue with many, for we saw bodies of children "buried" by being suspended in burial coverings from the

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branches of trees on the hill. Cremation is quite customary, and often there is a receptacle near the top of the totem for holding the ashes of the dead.

There is a cannery at Alert Bay where the salmon, of which large boatloads are landed and assorted on the wharf, are put through the canning process, and in a comparatively short time emerge sealed up in tins ready for shipment to all parts of the country. In these hauls there are many spring salmon weighing sixty-five to eighty-five pounds each. These are thrown out from the canning supply and used for other purposes.

From Alert Bay we proceeded up the beautiful land-locked waterway to Prince Rupert—the last of the Canadian ports—and when this is made the great Pacific port from the Orient it will be the shortest route around the world. Dixon's Inlet admits the Pacific Ocean at this point, and for about two hours we get a taste of "unpacific" ocean travel when our boat is out of sight of land, which is the case on two other short occasions during the trip from Vancouver to Skaguay.

The formality of passing the Customs is gone through at Ketchikan, the first town in Alaska at which a landing is made, and afterwards there is a rush to get our mail into the postoffice so that it will bear the Alaska postmark. Ketchikan is a small village, the entire incorporated town having a population of only 1,613, whose occupations are mining, fishing and canning. Ketchikan is the commercial distributing point for all the surrounding country. There are numerous valuable copper mines—the only ones to be found in southern Alaska are in this vicinity, also a hundred mile tract of marble regarding which it is said that some of the colored marbles are unequalled by the finest Italian products. Gold mining has not been developed to any extent, nor silver, lead and zinc, but non-metallic building materials such as cement, gypsum, clay and granite predominate. Greely says, in his "Handbook of Alaska," "The future mining in Ketchikan district, especially copper, appears certain of steady and extensive development. While its plants are necessarily costly, its labor uncertain and competition threatening, yet the availability of water power, the richness of the deposits, facility for working, and cheapness of transportation, are factors that should insure its continued prosperity." Ketchikan has a splendid system of plank walks, built to cover the uneven hilly

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ground, therefore the roads and streets are good. The "movies" have made familiar the renowned Ketchikan Salmon Falls, which from July to September teem with the fish which leap up the falls to the spawning ground above, and though torn and bleeding with their struggle, they persevere until they either reach their goal or die in the attempt.

At Ketchikan, as well as in the villages of Wrangell, Petersburg and Juneau, farther up the Passage, one sees many of the Tlinget tribe of Indians. Among the totem poles of Ketchikan one of the most familiar is Chief Johnson's, which is surmounted by the raven. A great many tribal poles show the raven, which their legends say taught men to make war and instigated the Potlach, a sacrificial feast at which many slaves were killed. The raven was also considered a trickster, and many words meaning cunning and treachery have "raven" for their root, such as ravener, ravening, ravenous, etc.

At Wrangell, the next stop, the industries are similar to those of Ketchikan. This is the shipping point for Stickin river and the west coast of Prince Edward Island. The town is primitive, crude and interesting. The water-front, with its shipping and numerous fishing boats, denotes a very thriving busy place, while the Indian women squatting along the wharf selling their Indian dolls and souvenirs to the boat passengers are a picturesque addition to the quaint town. Here are a public school, a government Indian school, a hospital, and several churches. Greeley relates: "The advent of American churches into the field came after twelve years of hesitation, and then through the efforts of the United States army. With the aid of Captain S. P. Joscelyn, the first Indian church outside of the Greek pale was opened at Wrangell in 1876, and in 1877 Dr. Sheldon Jackson was sent to institute the first Presbyterian mission in Alaska."

The principal totem is the Ti-hi-tan, the tribal pole of the "Bark House people." Old Chief Shakes' house and totem contain the ancient grizzly bearhead which was used as a mask at the Indian war dances, and was worn at Potlaches by the one appointed to kill the sacrificial slaves. Another interesting article in the Shakes collection is the Chilkat blanket, used in ceremonial dances and at funerals. It is named for the Chilkat tribe, who were so called because they kept their fish in an icehouse. The warp of the blanket

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of yellow cedar, the woof of goats' wool, and the ornamental parts are sewed on as applique and are very curious.

After leaving Wrangell, we pass through the Wrangell Narrows, twenty miles long, which widens and narrows in a most disconcerting way. The trip through the Inland Passage has been compared to that of the lakes of Norway on account of the many "meandering fjords," the numerous windings and turnings among the islands which seem like mountain ranges so sheer and stupendous is their towering height and their apparent depth into the water, and each with a grimness and greenness or glacial beauty all its own. Miniature icebergs came floating down to meet us, looking like islands of unearthly translucent deep marine blue with cavernous depths, recalling the Blue Grotto of Capri; but the excitement which these caused was soon forgotten as we approached the most wonderful sight of the entire trip—the Taku Glacier, towering three hundred feet out of the water, one mile in width, and extending back into the mountain seventy-five miles. It resembles a marble quarry, except that it is of the same weird blue as the icebergs, while large slabs as though cut by the sculptor's chisel seemed ready to topple as icebergs into the water. Our boat crept nearer and nearer until we were within two hundred feet and then came to anchor, with every passenger trying to get a good viewpoint from the stairs, the upper deck and every available high spot. Then the ship's whistle was blown so that we heard the echo which bounded back from the face of the glacier, and also from the farthest reaches of the mountains from which it emerged. This superb iceberg advances about eight feet a day, but its appearance never changes, and will not as it goes down through the ages, as through the ages it has come.

Thirty miles beyond Wrangell we arrive at Juneau, the capital of Alaska and its oldest American settlement, called the "Gold Belt City," as it is the greatest mining center in the world. Juneau was named for Joseph Juneau, who discovered the quartz and placer riches which have made this such a far famed region. It is the point of departure for Yukatat, Cordova, Valdez, Cook Inlet, Kodiak, Unalaska and Bristol Bay. The metropolis is built on the slope of a mountain, with Mt. Juneau, three thousand feet high, as a background. The roads are planked over and terraced one above the other up the mountain-side through the village. The huge mining plants seem part of the mountain itself, as they are built to conform to the rugged straight-sloping character of the country.

Almost opposite Juneau, across the Passage, is the town of Douglas, where are located the Treadwell mines, which were the first to successfully treat low-grade ore in Alaska. Nine-tenths of the gold of Southern Alaska is found on Douglas Island. The mining season in this section is from May 1st to November, and depends on the snowfall and water supply. Other great gold districts are Nome on Seward Peninsula, and Fairbanks in the Yukon Basin.

Skaguay at the head of Lynn Canal (or channel) is the terminal of the water trip and the gateway to the interior of Alaska. After the White Pass was discovered, the old Chilcoot Pass was abandoned, and the rush of miners to the Klondike in 1897 built up Skaguay with mushroom-like suddenness. The early trail over the White Pass and across the border into the Yukon country is still to be seen winding its tortuous way up the steep slopes of the Coast Range, where so many lives were laid down in the trail-blazing search for riches, because of the hardships, fatigue and privations which those early gold-seekers encountered. Their terrible journey on foot can now be made in a few hours over the White Pass & Yukon railroad to the lake region of the Yukon. The commercial importance of Skaguay depends almost entirely on the operations of this railroad.

Much has been and still could be written of those early "shady" days of Skaguay when "Soapy Smith" was boss, saloon keeper, dive keeper, and confidence man, and who with his gang of thieves, decoys and murderers, caused a reign of terror, when no miner coming out from the Klondike was safe with his hard-earned gold or his life. But those days seem myth-like to the present-day visitor—thrilling and romantic days invented by novelists for sensational reading—for now Skaguay is a law-abiding village, nestling in a valley surrounded by snow-tipped mountains on three sides which start from the very shores of the Canal. It has well-laid out streets and many substantial buildings, some of them vacant; while the shops are attractive and do a rushing business on boat days, for everybody wants a souvenir of Alaska to take home, and the assortment to select from includes the characteristic gold nugget chains, reindeer moccasins, Indian baskets, horn ink-stands, walrus-ivory paper weights and knives, as well as the beautiful Alaskan furs—sable, silver fox, ermine, coyote and red fox, and of course the lovely sealskin. The walrus is brought from the Behring Sea region, where the herds are found on the far northern coast, and where

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the animals themselves are used as food by the natives, and their ivory is readily disposed of to the traders.

Alaska's fur industry increases annually, and fur farming is carried on to some extent, but so far not very successfully, although three islands are used for their propagation and others are available. In 1918 the value of furs shipped out of Alaska was \$1,363,600. The Pribilof or Seal Islands furnish four-fifths of the seal-skins of the world. We hear much of "seal fisheries," but they are actually driven on shore like sheep, working their way along by their fore-flappers at the rate of one or two miles an hour to the warehouses, where they are killed by a blow on the head from a club which fractures their skulls. The flesh of the young seal is called Alaska pork, and is eaten by the whites, and the old ones, which are nearly all blubber, are eaten by the natives. Whales are also prized as food by the natives, especially those that drift ashore. Mr. George Wardman, United States Treasury Agent in Alaska several years ago, says, "The dead whale may be so putrid that the effluvia arising from it will blacken the white paint of a vessel lying one hundred yards distant, but all the same the whale is a blessing." The Siberian reindeer, which was introduced into Alaska and the Aleutian Islands through the efforts of the Coast Guard under the supervision of the Board of Education, are today valuable possessions of the northern natives, as they provide them with transportation, clothing and food, and have served to educate and civilize the natives, as their distribution is part of the educational system.

The *possibilities* for the future of the country and its people are impossible to calculate. There is so much virgin territory still to be explored, such vast possibilities in the further exploiting and development of present resources, that no prophecy would be great enough to encompass them, even with the fifty-three years of present accomplishment representing during the last forty years shipments amounting to the following as given by the Department of the Interior in their latest report: Value of gold lode mining since 1882, \$84,050,000; total copper production since 1882, \$88,640,000; placer gold mining since 1880, \$207,000,000; silver has been mined to the extent of \$4,800,000; tin, marble, gypsum, coal petroleum and lead, \$4,600,000; fisheries for the year ending November, 1917, \$1,338,599.

Did General Goffe Defend Hadley

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ACCORDING to the early writers, the Indians attacked both Deerfield and Hadley the first of September, 1675. The Rev. Increase Mather in his "Brief History" gives a concise and somewhat cryptic account of the affair at the latter place in these words: "The Indians set upon Deerfield (alias Pacomtuck) and killed one man, and laid most of the houses in that new and hopeful plantation in ruinous heaps. That which added solemnity and awfulness to that desolation is, that it happened on the very day when one of the churches in Boston was seeking the face of God by fasting and prayer before him. Also that very day the church in Hadley was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the holy service they were attending by a most sudden and violent *alarm* which routed them the whole day after."¹ Mather's work was published within a few months after the close of King Philip's War. In 1764, Thomas Hutchinson, author of the "History of Massachusetts Bay," described the same event as follows: "September the 1st, Hadley was attacked upon a fast day, while the people were at church, which broke up the service, and obliged them to spend the day in a very different exercise."² And in a note he tells the tradition handed down in Governor Leverett's family, which introduces a new actor into the scene:

"The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public worship, and the people were in the utmost confusion. Suddenly a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for this strange phenomenon. It is not

¹"History of King Philip's War," edited by S. G. Drake; p. 72.

²"Hist. of Mass. Bay," 2d ed., London, 1765; Vol. I, p. 294.

probable that they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons, who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him."³

General William Goffe and his father-in-law, General Edward Whalley, were prominent officers in the Commonwealth period. Whalley's mother was Frances Cromwell Whalley, aunt of Oliver Cromwell. Both men had been members of Cromwell's House of Lords, and also of the High Court of Justice which condemned and sentenced King Charles I. With the approach of the Restoration, they thought it prudent to leave England. When Charles II. was proclaimed, their ship was already in the Channel and on July 27th, 1660, they anchored at Boston. They were kindly received by the leaders of Massachusetts. In the following February when it was no longer safe for them to remain near Boston, they went to New Haven. By May, 1661, the demands of the English government for their arrest became insistent. Governor Endicott appointed Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, "zealous royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as Manhados (New York) in search of them."⁴ Kellond and Kirk arrived at New Haven, May 13th; but by the assistance of Deputy-Governor William Leete, the Rev. John Davenport, Richard Sperry and other friends, the Judges evaded capture. They were concealed in the vicinity of New Haven until October 13th, 1664. At that time their danger was enhanced by the arrival in Massachusetts of commissioners from King Charles. Accordingly they started for Hadley, "traveling only by night." At the time of the Indian attack, they had lived for more than ten years as the secret guests of the Rev. John Russell. Goffe's diary, from the time he left England until 1667, passed into Increase Mather's library, and finally into the possession of Hutchinson, the historian.

In 1794, thirty years after the appearance of Hutchinson's history, Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, published a "History of the Three Judges"—Whalley, Goffe, and John Dixwell. He collected not only the written records, but also traditions concerning the life of the Judges in America. His formulation of the oral traditions regarding the Indian attack is as follows:

³"Hist. of Mass. Bay," 2d ed., London, 1765; Vol. I, p. 219.

⁴"Hist. of Mass. Bay," 2d ed., London, 1765; Vol. I, p. 215.

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"Though told with some variation in the different parts of New England, the true story of the Angel is this: * * * The Nipnets, Quabaugs and northern tribes were in agitation, and attacked the new frontier towns along through New England, and Hadley among the rest, then an exposed frontier. That pious congregation were observing a fast at Hadley, on occasion of the war and, being at public worship in the meeting-house there, on a fast day, September 1, 1675, were suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians. It was the usage in the frontier towns, and even in New Haven, in those Indian wars, for a select number of the congregation to go armed to public worship. It was so at Hadley at this time. The people immediately took to their arms, but were thrown into great consternation and confusion. Had Hadley been taken, the discovery of the Judges had been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people, there appeared a man of very venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arranged, and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance; and for some time after said and believed that they had been delivered and saved by an angel. Nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after, when it at length became known at Hadley that the two Judges had been secreted there; which probably they did not know till after Mr. Russell's death in 1692. This story, however, of the Angel at Hadley, was before this universally diffused through New England by means of the memorable war of 1675. The mystery was unriddled after the Revolution (in England in 1688), when it became not so very dangerous to have it known that the Judges had received an asylum here, and that Goffe was actually in Hadley at that time. The Angel was certainly General Goffe, for Whalley was superannuated in 1675."⁵

Sylvester Judd's "History of Hadley" was published in 1863. The author quoted Mather, Hutchinson and Stiles. In reference to the assault by the Indians and the appearance of Goffe, he said: "The attack was undoubtedly upon the outskirts of the town, probably at the north end. The approach of the Indians may have been observed by Goffe from his chamber, which had a window toward the east. There is no reason to believe that there was a very large body of Indians, but the people, being entirely unaccustomed to war,

"Three Judges," p. 109.

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needed Goffe to arrange and order them. The Indians appear to have fled after a short skirmish.”⁶

For the Puritans who were in the secret, the act of General Goffe associated the battle of Dunbar and the siege of Worcester with the defense of the frontier village by the Connecticut. Not a messenger from heaven, but a champion of their lost cause in England had appeared to help at the hour of greatest need. In later times, authors have not been slow to avail themselves of the dramatic value of the incident. Cooper wove a Goffe strand into the “Wept of Wish-ton-wish.” Scott made Major Bridgenorth in “Peveril of the Peak” tell the story in a manner fascinating and true to the Puritan spirit. There Whalley instead of Goffe was hero. Hawthorne transformed the incident in the “Gray Champion.” Goffe was presented as the unnamed leader who had returned from the spirit world to aid the endangered cause of freedom in the trying days of Governor Andrus.

For more than a century after the publication of Hutchinson's work, or until 1874, the Indian attack at Hadley was regarded as authentic history. In the October number of the “New England Historical and Genealogical Register” for that year, George Sheldon, the brilliant local historian of Western Massachusetts, subjected the story to keen scrutiny and came to the conclusion that it was myth. In 1905 he further elaborated that position by an “Introduction” to the second edition of Judd's “History of Hadley.” He said that Judd was misled by Stiles. He maintained that the alarm at Hadley mentioned by Mather was caused by anxiety arising from the Indian assault on Deerfield; in a word, that there was no attack at Hadley on that date. He argued further that Hutchinson's statement about the attack was based on the Leverett tradition, and finally that the story could not have been true, because contemporary writers are silent on the question. Sheldon's view has been accepted with little hesitation by subsequent historians.⁷ He felt that he had settled the matter once for all; and were he still living, he might almost resent the expression of a doubt concerning his conclusion. But with all deference to Sheldon's memory, it may be said that his arguments need further consideration. Taking

⁶“History of Hadley,” 2d ed., p. 206.

⁷Ellis and Morris, “History of King Philip's War,” pp. 103-4. G. M. Bodge, “Soldiers of King Philip's War,” p. 84. Alice M. Walker, “Historic Hadley,” p. 27.

up the main question, a simple method is first to examine the Mather passage, then the related tradition, and finally the facts that are known concerning Hadley at that time.

The crux of the problem is to find the exact meaning of a single sentence from Mather's "History," the third in the quotation given above: "Also that very day, the church in Hadley was before the Lord in the same way, but were driven from the holy service they were attending, by a most sudden and violent alarm, which routed them the whole day after." Did the author mean, as Sheldon thought, that the people of Hadley were alarmed by the attack on Deerfield, fourteen miles away, or did he mean, as Judd and the earlier historians thought, that the people were alarmed by an attack on their own village. There is an obscure difficulty, apparently unnoticed by Sheldon, in the term "alarm." Some of Mather's words have definitely changed in meaning since the seventeenth century; *e. g.*, he uses "jealousies" in the sense of suspicion, and "improve" in the sense of use or employ. But in the word "alarm," the change has been merely one of shading. For the modern reader a partial change of meaning proves more elusive than a complete change. "Alarmed" in our use means struck with sudden fear or the apprehension of danger. The object of the emotion is left in any degree of vagueness, or altogether disregarded. When Mather used the term, the objective cause of the emotion was definitely expressed or directly implied. With the lapse of years, the word has lost in objective significance.

Mather used the word either in noun or verbal form four other times in the "Brief History." A comparison of these passages shows that the object of the alarm is stated in every case, and also that in each instance the reason for the alarm is given in the same sentence as the word "alarm" itself. There is no need to go backward or forward two sentences in order to find what was the trouble.

The second use of the term was under date of February 23d. "A day of humiliation was attended in the old meeting-house in Boston but not without much distraction, because of an alarm, by reason of rumors, as if the Indians were doing mischief within ten miles of Boston." Writing on March 27th, our author said: "Some of the inhabitants of Sudbury, being alarmed by what the

"History of King Philip's War," ed. by S. G. Drake; p. 121.

Indians did yesterday to their neighbors in Malbury, apprehending they might come upon the enemy unawares," etc.⁹ Under date of April 9th, he wrote, "This day being the Lord's day, there was an alarm at Charlestown, Cambridge, and other towns, by reason that sundry of the enemy were seen at Billerica, and it seemeth had shot a man there."¹⁰ Finally, on June 12th, in describing the second attack at Hadley, he used the term as we would use the words burglar or fire alarm, but was careful to explain the cause in the same sentence: "Within a while the sergeant apprehended that he heard men running, and looking over the fortification, he saw twenty Indians pursuing those three men, who were so terrified, that they could not cry out; two of them were at last killed, and the other so mortally wounded, as that he lived not above two or three days; wherefore the sergeant gave the alarm."¹¹

By this comparison of Mather's use of the term in the five passages, it is easy to see that he obscurely expressed in the single sentence all he cared to say of the first attack on Hadley. A reference to affairs at Deerfield is unnecessary. Had that been the author's intention, he would have placed the Hadley sentence after the Deerfield sentence, and the mention of the service in the Boston church last; or failing that arrangement, he would have made a direct reference to conditions at Deerfield similar to the reference in each of the other four cases. Moreover, as the text stands, the adverbial phrase, "also that very day," is redundant on Sheldon's interpretation. If Hadley had been alarmed over what was taking place at Deerfield, of course it would have been "that very day." The alarms at Sudbury and at Charlestown-Cambridge were not worth even a mild adjective. The Boston alarm was accompanied by "much distraction." But the first Hadley alarm was "most violent and sudden," and "routed them the whole day after." It was plainly a different and more serious type of alarm. Had the danger point been only at Deerfield, a "much distraction" variety of alarm would have been enough for Hadley.

In this connection, Sheldon saw the difficulty of his interpretation, but attempted to explain it away by the "astonishing news" of "the attack that day upon Deerfield." According to him, "the

⁹Ibid, ed. by S. G. Drake; p. 130.

¹⁰Ibid, p. 133.

¹¹Ibid, p. 155.

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usual method of Indians in warfare is, to watch chances for a surprise; then a swift stroke, and a speedy retreat. But at Deerfield the first shock was unsuccessful; the Indians lingered, and in a measure besieged the garrison, expecting to lay the whole town in ashes."¹² For the moment Sheldon must have forgotten Brookfield where, just four weeks before that eventful Wednesday, the Indians had been besieging an armed garrison for two days and doubtless would have destroyed the English but for the timely arrival of Major Willard and his troopers. At both Brookfield and Deerfield, the persistence of the Indian attack after the moment of surprise, depended not upon any change in the character of their strategy but upon their belief that their force was sufficient to gain a victory with a minimum loss. There was nothing unique in the method of the Deerfield attack.

The known facts fully explain the obscurity of Mather's statement. His regard for the safety of his friends, General Goffe and Mr. Russell, (General Whalley was probably dead before the "Brief History" was written), led him to speak of the matter only in the most guarded manner. Incidentally it should be noted that this vagueness on Mather's part is a fact which tends to confirm the tradition that Goffe assisted in the defense; had the Indians been repulsed without that aid, the historian could have given a full account of the circumstances.

The exact meaning of the above quoted sentence from Mather is of first importance in estimating the historical value of the story of the attack. But the traditions of the alleged event deserve consideration. To whatever extent they represent facts, they confirm the older view and refute Sheldon's interpretation. The first tradition we meet is that handed down in the Leverett family, and quoted above from Hutchinson's note. It is worth while to observe how Sheldon handled Hutchinson's account of the attack. He said the tradition "was either one stroke of some imaginative genius, or, as is more probable, the gradual growth of generations in the fireside lore of the Leverett family. Its roots were no doubt planted in the Mather story of the 'alarm' at Hadley."¹³ After giving Hutchinson's account of the attack quoted above, Sheldon said "this much of the 'anecdote,' " i. e., the attack, "was accepted by the historian,

¹²Judd, "History of Hadley," 2d ed., *Introd.*, p. xvii.

¹³*Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. xvii.

as there is no other authority for it."¹⁴ But how did Sheldon know that the historian had no other ground for the statement? As a matter of fact, he assumed that Hutchinson read the Mather account as he (Sheldon) read it one hundred and ten years later. According to his argument, the Leverett tradition might have grown from the Mather account, and the Hutchinson account was "accepted" from the Leverett tradition. But looking at the matter without a preconceived interpretation in mind, it is obvious that the Mather account is the direct source of the Hutchinson account; in fact, the latter is almost a paraphrase of the former.

As stated above, it is only by discrediting the traditions of the attack that Sheldon's position can be maintained. Besides the Leverett account mentioned by Hutchinson, Sheldon criticised the stories preserved by Stiles in the "History of the Three Judges." His method there was to bring a blanket indictment against the entire work by impugning the accuracy of the author. He contended that Stiles lacked the "judicial quality"; that he exhibited "a certain twist in the make-up which should lead us to suspect his conclusions." In defense of Stiles it can be said that he clearly distinguished between written evidence and "faint tradition." Referring to Hutchinson's statement which he immediately quoted, Stiles said, "this may be depended upon as genuine information,"¹⁵ and at the end of the quotation: "Thus far Governor Hutchinson's narrative concerning these two persons; which is the more valuable, as being extracted from their journal, it must contain the most accurate information we can ever obtain. To this extract posterity must ever have recourse,"¹⁶ etc. Shortly afterwards, following another quotation from the same work, Stiles wrote: "Hitherto we have proceeded upon accurate and authentic documents. I shall now collect and exhibit other scattered lights and traditionary information, preserved partly in the public fame which such an event would be likely to produce at New Haven and Hadley, and partly in families whose ancestors were privy to the secrets of these men and concerned in their concealments. These anecdotes together with the description and delineation of their places of abode, may illustrate the history of these fugitive pilgrims."¹⁷ Stiles' attitude as ex-

¹⁴Ibid, *Introd.*, p. xv.

¹⁵"Three Judges," p. 22.

¹⁶Ibid, p. 29.

¹⁷Ibid, p. 30.

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pressed in the above sentences is not that of a writer who gives "more weight to a faint family tradition than to verified contemporaneous facts."¹⁸

Sheldon's arbitrary method of eliminating tradition that impeded his argument needs further examination. He referred to the report which Kellond and Kirk made to Governor Endicott, and criticised Stiles for discrepancies between that report and the local traditions. A striking fact, however, in this connection, is that while the report is detailed in the part which describes the unsatisfactory meetings with Deputy-Governor Leete at Guilford and New Haven, it is condensed and stated in the most general terms for the remainder of the journey. No date is given after May 13th, until the date of the signature at Boston, May 29th. In fact, the intervening period is passed over in the short space of two compressed paragraphs. Stiles, as clearly as Sheldon, saw the difficulty of reconciling the traditions with the report; but he suggests a probable solution. To do him justice it is necessary to glance briefly at his treatment of the problem. He wrote: "By the pursuivants' report to Governor Endicott it appears that they arrived at New Haven, May 13th; and it should seem that they left the town the next day and this without any search at all." However, "the Sperrys are uniform in the family tradition that the surprisal of the Judges at their ancestors' house was by the pursuers from England * * * which could not have been if they staid in the town but one day. Perhaps 'the next day' in the *Report*, might not be that immediately following the 13th, but the next day after they found they could do nothing to purpose. * * * Governor Hutchinson says: 'They made diligent search.' And this has always been the tradition in New Haven. But of this nothing is mentioned in the report unless it is alluded to in the 'verbal account' given to Governor Endicott. The tradition is that the pursuers went to Sperry's house after their return from Manhados; but this could not be if they went from thence by water to Boston; unless returning again through New Haven to Governor Winthrop at New London, they might go from thence to Boston by water. But of this they take no notice in their report."¹⁹

Stiles had no doubt that some of the traditions he had collected

¹⁸Judd, "History of Hadley," 2d ed., Introd., p. xi.

¹⁹"Three Judges," pp. 61-2.

represented actual events. He certainly had good ground for his confidence in the Sperry account. He received it in 1785 from Joseph Sperry, then aged 76 years, who was a grandson of the first Richard Sperry, in whose house the fugitives were concealed.²⁰ Seignobos says: "No second-hand statement has any value except in so far as it reproduces its source."²¹ When the transmission of information is confined to a single family and extends only from grandfather to grandson, are we not justified in concluding that the source is at least partially reproduced? Stiles was exactly as near his source of information concerning John Russell as he was in the case of Richard Sperry. Mrs. Abigail Otis, a friend of Stiles and a member of his church at Newport in 1760 and for some years afterwards, was a granddaughter of Russell. Of her the historian says: "She was perfectly versed in the Russell history of the Judges, for whose memory she had the family veneration."²²

Sheldon was in error, if he thought that the angel story, as an explanation of the occurrence at Hadley, was an enlargement of the Hutchinson anecdote invented by Stiles. In the "Three Judges,"²³ Stiles mentioned two men, the Rev. Mr. Fowler and Henry Hill, of Guilford, from whom he had the account. Probably the story was never taken seriously by those who told or heard it. John Fiske thought it "possibly might have been started with a touch of Yankee humor, as a blind."²⁴ However that may have been, Stiles' gratuitous elaboration has been most unfortunate; because it has lent a certain plausibility to Sheldon's summary rejection of the entire cycle of Goffe traditions.

At the time Stiles was writing the "History of the Three Judges," the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, nephew of Jonathan Edwards, was minister at Hadley. He had preached there since 1754, and was the third in succession after John Russell. Stiles visited Hopkins and secured his help in the study of the local traditions. Forty years earlier, while tutors at Yale, they had become friends. Hopkins wrote to Stiles on March 26th, 1793. The parts of his letter which are important in estimating the story of the Indian attack follow: "Since I received yours of the 11th ult. I have taken pains

²⁰"Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," Vol. III, pp. 168-171.

²¹"Introduction to the Study of History," Eng. Tran., p. 179.

²²"Three Judges," p. 97.

²³Ibid., p. 67.

²⁴"The Beginnings of New England," p. 218.

DID GENERAL GOFFE DEFEND HADLEY

to enquire of the oldest people among us, what they heard said, by the eldest persons in town since their remembrance, respecting Whalley and Goffe. * * * Most of whom I have enquired for tradition say, that while they were here the Indians made an assault upon the town; that on this occasion a person unknown appeared, animating and leading on the inhabitants against the enemy, and exciting them by his activity and ardour; that when the Indians were repulsed, the stranger disappeared—was gone—none ever knew where, or who he was."²⁵ If this account is accepted at face value, it is evidence tending to confirm the Leverett tradition. It was so regarded by Stiles and Judd. On the other hand, Sheldon, by an arbitrary assumption similar to his derivation of the Hutchinson statement from the Leverett tradition noticed above, said that the "general tradition" of Hopkins was derived from Hutchinson's history.²⁶ That explanation, however, is less than convincing. Hopkins was living at Hadley ten years before Hutchinson's work was published. He inquired of the "oldest people among us what they heard said by the eldest persons in town since their remembrance." It is too much to assume that Hopkins accepted a pseudo-tradition, developed from Hutchinson's account and less than thirty years old, for a real local tradition, in a town where he himself had lived for thirty-nine years.

The dramatic character of a somewhat obscure record may lead a critic to question the reality of the occurrence; but it should not be a criterion for deciding that any tradition is false. Interest in itself is a factor of survival value. The good story is remembered while the mere fact may be forgotten. But fact may happen to be interesting; it may serve as material for a good story. Let us admit that the figure of the old Puritan general, rushing from his hiding place to warn the congregation and to lead them against the savages, may appeal to the imagination. This appeal should have no cogency, if presented as a proof of either the truth or error of the story. No one is likely to regard it as an affirmative evidence. But some one may say the story is too interesting to be true. The obvious answer is, that the historical value of any story depends on the sources of information, which in this case have already been considered, and on the correlation with known facts.

Considering the facts, what is the probability that General Goffe

²⁵Judd, "History of Hadley," 2d ed., pp. 210-211.

assisted in repulsing an attack of the Indians? He was living in Hadley at the time. Sheldon has proved from extant correspondence that the exile made a journey to Hartford some time in the following winter, and apparently lived there some years or until 1680.²⁶ Fiske says that the reason for this move might have been because he had been seen at the time of the attack.²⁷ It is certain that Goffe would not have hesitated on the ground of personal danger, if he could have been of assistance to John Russell and the people of the village. Thirteen years before, he had said, if we may trust the *Report* of Kellond and Kirk, that with "two hundred friends that would stand by" him, he "would not care for Old or New England."²⁸ And from all we know of his life it is safe to infer that age could not weary nor misfortune impair the spirit of the Puritan soldier.

The contention of Sheldon, which he sought to prove by "negative evidence," that there was no attack on Hadley at this time, is quite inconclusive. The silence of Hubbard, in his history of the war, is easily explained. It was necessary for the safety of Goffe and the prominent men who had aided his concealment. That it was not the only time Hubbard omitted the mention of facts for politic reasons, any one will remember who has read the part of his "*History of New England*" which deals with the period after the English Restoration. The letters we possess of that time and place were mostly directed to Increase Mather, or to other persons who were in the secret. Wherever possible, Mather would have recdited or destroyed any written allusion to the Judges. He would have done this not only out of regard for Russell's and Goffe's safety but also for his own. During several years he had been the medium of correspondence between the exile and the latter's family in England. Doubtless Solomon Stoddard at Northampton, Samuel Mather at Deerfield, and, quite probably, John Pynchon at Springfield, knew of Goffe's presence at Hadley, and were careful not to refer to a subject so dangerous. Mather himself would not have written the sentence about the alarm, if Goffe had not been already safely removed to Hartford. Absence of letters can be but doubtful evidence of any negative proposition. Judd could find no local letters deal-

²⁶Ibid, *Introd.*, p. xiv.

²⁷"The Beginnings of New England," p. 218.

²⁸"Publications of Prince Society," Vol. II, pp. 53-54.

ing with the Indian attack at Hatfield which occurred, October 19th, about seven weeks after the affair at Hadley.²⁹ Fortunately, however, the contemporary histories of Hubbard and the merchant of Boston have placed the Hatfield matter beyond the reach of destructive criticism.

Speaking of letters, there is one written in distant Rhode Island that should not remain unnoticed. On August 12th, 1676, William Harris wrote to Joseph Williamson in England. He gave a general account of the Indian war and the condition of New England. He justified the Puritan attack on the swamp fort. Describing the methods of the Narragansett Indians before they openly fought the English, *i. e.*, before December, 1675, he said: "Which shows they did all in deceit, yea, and all this while up in the country about Hadley and Deerfield and thereabout aided Philip, and others of their party, against the English to the doing of very great mischief."³⁰ This is admittedly the vaguest of allusion, yet if Hadley had escaped unscathed it is probable he would have written Springfield and Deerfield rather than "Hadley and Deerfield."

While we have no other direct evidence of what happened at Hadley on September first, we do know that the plan adopted by the Commissioners of the United Colonies was to use their forces in pursuing the Indians, instead of garrisoning the villages. That policy, though earnestly opposed by the officers in the field, was continued until after the burning of Springfield. Major Pynchon in a letter of August 22d, sent to Captain Allyn of Connecticut, begs that colony to leave Captain Watts to guard the river country; he also describes the great need of the presence of some prominent man at Hadley to command as circumstances should require.³¹ Connecticut records show that on August 31st the war council sent a letter to Major John Pynchon "to give an account of Major Talcott's being sent up and commissioned to consult with him" (Pynchon).³² What is more likely than that Captains Lathrop and Beers were called from Hadley to Springfield for a conference with Pynchon and Talcott, on the first of September? Watts had already returned to Connecticut; and Willard, if at any point west of Brookfield, would have been with Pynchon. There was a state of

²⁹"History of Hadley," 2d ed., p. 147.

³⁰"Collections of R. I. Historical Society," Vol. X, p. 168.

³¹Sheldon, "History of Deerfield," Vol. I, p. 18.

³²"Connecticut Records," Vol. II, p. 358.

high tension all along the border. At two places, men were shot at by Indians on August 31st.³³ That eventful morning, Hadley was doubtless left unguarded. The inhabitants were gathered at a religious service. We can be sure that the enemy knew much about the movements of the English. Add to this the probability that the Hadley Indians were eager to attack their white neighbors. The net result is a stage set for the action which Judd found recorded by Mather and confirmed by tradition. It is probable that there will never be data available to give us detailed information concerning the events of that September day. However, the unexpected discovery of a letter or a record might make every thing plain. Should this occur, there is little doubt that completed history would say, there was a skirmish with the Indians and Goffe took part in the defense.

³³Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 358-9.



Transcendentalism

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It is now about a century since the religious and philosophical cult known as Transcendentalism developed in New England, to become on the part of the majority of Americans a butt of ridicule, though to create in many of the best minds of the country a deep and abiding conviction of its truth and value, and to remain forever among the people and their institutions as a beneficent influence. It was not a new theory, but one which in essence had been taught by Plato, and having been adopted by the German philosopher Kant, had been appropriated and carried into England by Coleridge and Carlyle, and in the pages of their books transported to the thinkers of New England. Though Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection," 1825, and Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," 1833, were the most largely influential in introducing Transcendentalism into this country, the ideas which it embraced percolated in through various channels: during the period 1817-1825, American students returning from the German University of Göttingen; Edward Everett among others, Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard, first disseminated here a knowledge of the writings of Kant and Goethe; in 1825 Dr. Charles T. C. Follen, a distinguished German scholar, was secured for Harvard as teacher of the German language; three years later he was given the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and was appointed Professor of German Literature in 1830, remaining in this capacity for a term of five years. He was a diligent man, contributing to magazines, delivering lectures, and having prepared for the ministry, was pastor of Unitarian churches. Added to all this propagandism of the German language and ideas, was the publication in the "North American Review" and "Christian Examiner" of translations of French and German writings, in which Transcendentalism was ventilated.

It is a notable fact that the movement was confined to eastern New England, for the reason that its seeds were first and

most prolifically sown in and about Boston, and it is still more interesting to learn that in no other part of the world did this philosophy develop to maturity and power, bestowing its full fruition, but in this limited territory. In Germany itself, and in England and France, it found no congenial soil for its propagation, the ideas which it published being accepted by the cultured few, while the commonalty, living under the fixed and immutable conditions of old and rigid governments, were not of a mind to entertain the mystic and soaring views of the new philosophy; but in New England, with its free speech and liberal institutions, was a favorable field for the fructification of this wandering embryonic theory, searching through the world for a habitation, and it was embraced with avidity by ripe scholars and fervent Christians in whose minds and hearts it germinated and developed into great proportions.

For all things there are appropriate causes, and it is always interesting to inquire, particularly in phenomenal cases like this we are considering, as to what it may have been. At this time there pervaded the English-speaking world the material philosophy of Bacon and Locke, which held that matter was the essential sphere of creation, and that the mind could claim nothing that was not first derived through the senses from the visible surroundings. The utilitarian teachings of Benjamin Franklin encouraged this view of life, and his sayings, like "Diligence is the mother of good luck," were read, approved and practiced everywhere in the land, which was immersed in the practical labors of developing a new country. Religion and literature were saturated with this mundane and unambitious philosophy, while theology was, as represented in the different sects, dead systems of cut, dried and labeled specimens of ecclesiastical opinions, stern, cold, and devoid of any attractive charm or sentiment. That real religion was neglected and that public worship had largely become a mechanical exercise without faith and love as essential elements, is testified to by the authoritative writers of that day. It can readily be understood that under such circumstances the liberal and inspiring ideas of "Aids to Reflection" and "Sartor Resartus" were welcomed and appropriated by the cultured and spiritually minded young men of New England, who embraced these hopeful and attractive views as a new evangel, and with consecrated and enthusiastic devotion set themselves to define,

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develop and apply to life and religion the transcendental philosophy.

The utilitarian views entertained generally in this country during the first half of the nineteenth century may be inferred from the commotion which these fresh ideas created when originally introduced among the people, for these teachings, read today, seem devoid of any revolutionary tendency in faith or practice, this philosophy having since been unconsciously assimilated and adopted by the more intelligent classes, and the old-time materialistic deadness having been sloughed off. As late as 1870, Transcendentalism was still the laughing-stock of many who could make nothing of it and who esteemed it but the idle vaporings of partially demented persons whose writings were outside the pale of practical understanding. All this has changed, and though the cult has practically been forgotten, insensibly the very principles for which it contended: the wider substitution of the spirit of religion for the letter and the law; the exaltation of the higher faculties of the mind and soul above the lower sphere of sensual knowledge and practice, —are carried out in every institution and activity of human life.

It must be admitted, however, that there were grounds for the lack of respect which in its earlier history prevailed in New England for the new philosophy, for among its advocates were those who carried their ideas to extremes and reveled in mystical spheres of thought and imagination; there runs, indeed, through all the writings of its great teachers, this illusive element which Coleridge, as one possessing it, thus defines: "A mystic is a man who refers to inward feelings and experiences, of which mankind at large are not conscious, as evidences of the truth of any opinions." Another handicap to the growth of the cult was the fact that most of its leading sponsors were ministers of the Unitarian church, a denomination which was not popular with the masses of the country, yet it is remarkable to relate that from this alleged unpromising source emanated a national revival of a genuine spiritual Christianity on the dead works of formalism.

It should be said to the credit of the Transcendental school of thought, that it not only developed in the midst of prevailing materialistic and skeptical influences, but that it withstood later the subtle, insinuating and ably advanced theories of evolution as taught by Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and other brilliant scientists, it all having a materialistic tendency, threatening at one time to undermine

the foundations of the Christian church; but the etherial and spiritual truths which Transcendentalism had been spreading throughout the country held the people to the rule of faith, and, as time went on, evolution with its mighty array of profound learning came to be seen as a not at all destructive, but a tame and even unproved, contention. On the other hand, Darwin, according to his own admission, believed that "science had nothing to do with Christ," and that he did "not believe that there ever has been any revelation." He also states that his former fondness for poetry, music and pictures, had practically deserted him, a confession that affords a hint of what his works are capable of effecting in the soul of those who devote themselves too unreservedly to them. And here note should be made of the fact that while Darwinism and evolution tend to minimize personality and to make of the individual a mere cog in the wheel of an ever-turning and irresistible fate, Transcendentalism, by its emphasis of the idea of the ever-developing godlike character in human nature, exalts the soul into a realm of illimitable honor, dignity, goodness, happiness, power and usefulness.

But the disciples of Transcendentalism erred in following their ideas too far and in allowing themselves in their enthusiasm to be carried out of the paths of the common workaday world; many or most of them became recluses, though ever in essay, lecture and sermon expressing ardent humanitarian and philanthropic views; but as a class they refrained from going down into the actual arena of reform and mingling in the dust, sweat and turmoil of contention, preferring to sit on the upper pleasant seats and to smilingly observe the combat, while they volunteered wise counsel to the champions of the right. The communistic institution which they organized and maintained for several years at Brook Farm, segregated in an un-American manner from human society, evidences the retiring and intolerant spirit of its membership. The characterization of the Transcendentalists given by Father Isaac T. Hecker, an eminent Catholic priest, is quoted here. Father Hecker when a young man was a member of the Brook Farm community, where he served as a baker, remaining about a year, and afterwards converted to the Catholic faith, became the founder of the Paulist Fathers. He says: "A Transcendentalist is one who has keen sight but little warmth of heart; one who has fine conceits, but is destitute of the rich glow of love. He is *en rapport* with the spiritual world, uncon-

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scious of the celestial one. He is all nerve and no blood—colorless.

. . . He prefers talking about love to possessing it; as he prefers Socrates to Jesus. Nature is his church, and he is his own God."

Though there was some justification for these remarks, they are overdrawn and misleading, for these cultured men and women, possessed by exalted religious, social and political ideas, could not well do otherwise than view with sorrow and reprehension the sordid and impoverished spiritual and intellectual life which prevailed around them, and entertain a desire to remove from its midst; yet, despite this unchristian attitude, the Transcendentalists had among their number wonderful men, having splendid intellectual gifts, high and liberal spiritual endowments, heroic fearlessness, whose shining individualities refused to submit their opinions to the dictation of any man. In their day they were scorned, ridiculed and contemned, as clergymen they were driven from their charges as obnoxious and mischievous outcasts from the folds of Christianity, and is it to be thought strange that they would, from a human standpoint, long to hide themselves from the world and its bitterness! But these devotees to what they believed to be the truth, though they were fallible men with faults and extravagances of mind, had the wealth of heavenly worth in their lives and preachments, though admixed with the waste and dross incident to all human activity and rhetoric, and they left behind them lasting memorials of help and inspiration to posterity.

Dr. William Ellery Channing may be said to be the father of both Unitarianism and Transcendentalism in the United States, and here it might be stated that Unitarianism is really not so destructive an agency as many believe it to be, for it stands more to designate a protest against the old hard-and-fast theology than as a definite system of religious belief, made up as it is of a wide and versatile difference of opinion; it is, indeed, a church of great liberality of thought. Dr. Channing, though classed as a Unitarian, denied that he was a follower of any sect, but claimed to be a free lance and a seeker after more light; it is, therefore, unfortunate that so many have banned his helpful and uplifting writings and those of his associated Transcendentalists, on account of their alleged heretical opinions, for these men, with all their shortcomings, were prophets who should be read by all.

The first great event in the development of the Transcendental movement in America occurred in 1819, when Dr. Channing preached a sermon in Baltimore at the ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks, in after-years the distinguished historian. This discourse, which is a clear and able setting forth of the new theology which more or less has since influenced all denominations, was circulated in pamphlets throughout the country. Whatever criticisms may be made of it, this sermon has the breath of devotion and conviction, for Channing was above all sincere and of an honest, gentle disposition, a man to whom contention was distasteful. Though he was not properly speaking a Transcendentalist, he was intimate with its leaders, while his teachings, though not devoted particularly to that end, were yet in their independent spirit, lofty aspirations and spiritual zeal, in harmony with that school of philosophy and religion.

The next epoch-making figure to arise in the history of Transcendentalism was Ralph Waldo Emerson, called the seer of the movement, a Unitarian clergyman, and descended from a line of eight Christian ministers. While yet a young man and serving as pastor of the Second Unitarian Church of Boston, he resigned in 1832 from the ministry and thereafter devoted himself to literature and lecturing. It is perhaps not generally known that his reason for leaving his church was his opinion as to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper being a permanent institution; he claimed that this contention could not be shown from the Scriptures, and his parish not consenting to discontinue its observance, he refused longer to minister to the congregation, a course which reflects no credit upon Emerson, inasmuch as a faithful pastor, in love with his work, would have submitted to the administration of an ordinance which is so highly prized by the mass of Christian people, though he personally considered it unessential. He was by far the greatest exponent of Transcendentalism, and this not from any signal intellectual power, but from his mild and loveable nature, dreamy and attractive ideas of truth, goodness and beauty, his easy, graceful diction, and the many pregnant phrases which he was able to coin; as a debater or as an originator of profound thought, he was a minus quantity, and, whether designedly or not, he scrupulously avoided the statement of any position which might give ground for contradiction and dispute;—it is impossible to quarrel with Emerson, for he dispenses in a kindly, benignant manner his poetic, beautiful and uplifting

ideas, almost intoxicating the reader with his own mystically buoyant nature. Having therefore left no gaps in his harness through which an enemy's dart might penetrate, his philosophy lives on, and while not so impressive intellectually as those of the great system-makers like Kant, he has more readers and perhaps a wider influence.

In 1838, Emerson gave an address before the senior class of Divinity College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in which he deplored the formalism of the religion and preaching of the day and dwelt on the transcendentalism of the individual soul, an address which was called at the time a great innovation, but which now excites no criticism nor opposition, for if we do not acquiesce in the doctrines set forth, we appreciate and respect the views and the sincerity of the author. One paragraph from this famous address is quoted as Emerson's own idea of the sphere and the method of the prophet:

"It is very certain that it is the effect of conversation with the beauty of the soul, to beget a desire and need to impart to others the same knowledge and love. If utterance is denied, the thought lies like a burden on the man. Always the seer is a sayer. Somehow his dream is told; somehow he publishes it with solemn joy—sometimes with pencil on canvas, sometimes with chisel on stone; sometimes in towers and aisles of granite, his soul's worship is builded; sometimes in anthems of indefinite music; but clearest and most permanent in words."

Theodore Parker, of Roxbury, near Boston, also a Unitarian clergyman, was one of the audience that heard Emerson speak these words, and he was encouraged by the address to announce similar ideas which were fermenting within him. He was an unusually brilliant man who from a farm boy became an alumnus of Harvard College, attending it only at examinations, and laboring meantime in the field or engaged in teaching, and who while yet a young man had acquired an astonishing amount of learning. He was the greatest preacher of New England next to Channing, but departed furthest from the accepted theological beliefs of his day, so as to be in a manner banned by the Unitarian church and its ministry. He was, however, a man of most attractive personality, religiously devoted, witty and emotional, a fearless advocate of what he believed to be the truth, and was the most prominent of the Transcendentalists as a reformer, not hesitating to jeopardize his

life in a good cause. After listening to Emerson's address, his "instinctive intuitions" clamored for expression, and when in 1841 he was invited to deliver an ordination sermon in Boston, he chose for his theme "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," in which discourse he held that the permanent dwelt in the ethical and spiritual teachings of Christ, and that these transcended the miraculous,—a contention that brought him immediately into illrepute with his denomination.

It has been said of English Transcendentalism that Coleridge was its philosopher, Carlyle its preacher and man of letters, and Wordsworth its poet; in America it might be said that Emerson was its philosopher, Bushnell its theologian, Parker its preacher, and Whitman its poet. As a thinker and developer of the transcendental ideas, Horace Bushnell was perhaps the ablest of all. A Congregational minister, he, in common with other forward-looking clergymen of New England, went far beyond the borders of the ecclesiastical ideas of his denomination and suffered for his temerity. Whitman exhibits most fully that almost arrogant individualistic bent of Transcendentalism, that utter disregard of all but divine authority when it antagonizes the high soul of man, in which this poet revels and which constitutes the weight of his message; but it is a powerful one, of such almost superhuman strength that it enthalls the reader and infinitely exalts his conception of his own soul's greatness and dignity. Thoreau was an author who embraced the Transcendental creed, or lack of creed; was an intimate friend of Emerson, and, while living an humble hermit life at Walden Pond, cultivated a proud and derisive character of mind, making friends with mice and chipmunks and despising the ordinary ideas and employments of human life. Both he and Whitman were semi-pagan in their philosophy, but wonderful in their reverence for the honor, dignity, independence and power of their own individual souls,—teachings which human society, cluttered up as it is with so much adventitious and distracting concomitants, would profit by heeding.

Though Transcendentalism formulated no set system of philosophy or religion, and while no real treatises upon it have been written save a tract by Emerson and an address by Parker, and though no architectural memorial has ever been erected to its honor, there is a space of ground which was once owned and occupied by its enthu-



siastic followers, but long since with its proprietors passed almost into forgetfulness,—Brook Farm. Here, a few miles out of Boston and upon pleasant meadow and upland, the Transcendentalists in the spring of 1841 set up a social and agricultural institution, which though small in numbers was great in genius and in the widespread beneficent influence which it exercised. George Ripley, a graduate of Harvard and a Unitarian clergyman, was the leader in this scheme of introducing a rudimentary paradise upon earth, which was begun with a colony of only eighteen persons. The community was composed from first to last of many rare and gifted men and women, but the fatal defect of the plan was that it did not fulfill the requirement of pure and undefiled religion, which consists not only in keeping oneself unspotted from the world, but also in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, which latter duty can only be fulfilled by living midst the common life of men. Their aims, however, were high, though in a manner selfish, the constitution which they adopted setting forth clearly the society's transcendental desires and purposes. The document is here presented:

“In order more effectually to promote the great purposes of human culture; to establish the external relations of life on a basis of wisdom and purity; to apply the principles of justice and love to our social organization in accordance with the laws of Divine Providence; to substitute a system of brotherly coöperation for one of selfish competition; to secure to our children and those who may be entrusted to our care, the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual and moral education, which in the progress of knowledge the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety, by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire of excessive accumulation, by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other forever the means of physical support and of spiritual progress; and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement and moral dignity to our mode of life;—we, the undersigned, do unite in a voluntary association and adopt and ordain the following articles of agreement,” etc.

This is a statement of noble purposes, and though the community which adopted it had but a brief existence, it is pleasant to reflect that its constitution lives on and will never perish; that while the

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organization was premature, impolitic and monastic, and for those reasons resulted in failure, its principles were of such high and progressive quality that they are destined, like all truth and virtue, to eventually be adopted generally. Thus, the members of the Brook Farm Association were benefactors to mankind; they were brave souls, living beyond their times, who felt, as one of their number, Rev. John S. Dwight, expressed it, "We do not properly live in these days; but everywhere with patent inventions and complex arrangements are getting ready to live. The end is lost in the means; life is smothered in appliances; we cannot get to ourselves—there are so many external comforts to wade through."

At the end of three years the experiment at Brook Farm seemed to have been successful and a prosperous future for it assured; the Farm embraced 208 acres, and the assets of the society amounted to about \$30,000; the school, which attracted students from outlying communities, was an established feature, and the Association was convinced "that their belief in a divine order of society had become an absolute certainty." The number of those dwelling on the Farm was never above one hundred and twenty persons at one time, and two hundred would embrace all those who were members of the community during the six years that it existed. At the time of which we are writing, the Farm and premises had been developed, additional buildings erected, and in every way the community was flourishing; but at this juncture (in 1844) it was deemed advisable to introduce the French communistic plan at Brook Farm, which attractive and plausible scheme had been widely popularized in this country by Mr. Albert Brisbane. The Fourier system was put into operation at the Farm in the following year, and from that time the prosperity of the society began to decline; it had departed somewhat from its original purpose, and was maintained at a loss; the final scene occurred with the burning of one of its principal buildings in the spring of 1847, and in the fall of the year the community ceased to exist.

Fourierism, which proved the undoing of Brook Farm, was perhaps the most enticing communistic scheme that has ever been devised, and caught in its meshes other distinguished people besides the members of this Association, Horace Greeley, among others, who listening to the siren voice of Brisbane, its enthusiastic advocate in this country, became its ardent disciple. Greeley was from

time to time a visitor at Brook Farm, and possibly through his influence, and the advocacy of Fourierism in a column of "The Tribune" (which Brisbane for a period had at his disposal), this plan was adopted there. The doctrines of Fourier had obtained a large following in the United States, numbering in 1846 no less than about 200,000 persons, and several newspapers opposed to the movement began an attack upon the new socialistic scheme which proposed to revolutionize human society and its institutions for their betterment throughout the world; Greeley and "The Tribune," its chief sponsors, replied with zeal and ability, till after a war of words extending through six months, the strife ended with the victory evidently in the hands of Greeley's antagonists. This notable but forgotten debate was afterwards republished in a book.

Another institution quite as widely known and talked of in its day as Brook Farm and Fourierism, was a periodical issued by that community and called "The Dial," the quarterly organ of the Transcendentalists and a magazine of very high standards, devoted to general literature, art, science, sociology, philosophy and religion. "The Dial" ran for four years with a circulation never reaching to five hundred copies, the first issue, with Margaret Fuller as editor, appearing in April, 1840. Miss Fuller was a noble and extraordinarily brilliant woman, "almost Christian," of a singular and arrogant personality, yet having attractions which only her contemporaries who knew her could appreciate. An enlightening view of the purposes of the magazine is obtained through its salutatory, a portion of which is quoted:

"We invite the attention of our countrymen to a new design. . .

. . . Many sincere persons in New England reprobate that rigor of our conventions of religion and education which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement and holds nothing so much in horror as new views and the dreams of youth. No one can converse much with different classes of society in New England without remarking the progress of a revolution. It is in every form a protest against usage and a search for principles. If our Journal share the impulse of the time, it cannot now prescribe its own course. It cannot foretell in orderly propositions what it shall attempt. Let it be one cheerful, rational voice amid the din of mourners and polemics."

"The Dial" started with a subscription list of but thirty names or more, and throughout its career it had a struggling existence,

though for a part of the time having Emerson for its editor and for contributors such able writers as Theodore Parker, George Ripley, James Freeman Clarke and William Ellery Channing. Its musical critic was John S. Dwight, while Christopher P. Cranch served as editor of the art department. All these were clergymen whose souls aspired beyond the boundaries of the formal religious ideas of their day, and all of them afterwards had distinguished careers. In the four now-scarcely-opened volumes of this unique and brilliant periodical are embalmed the rare prose and poetry of these gifted men and women, who lived not for the more or less selfish ends which prompt the most of humanity, but for ideals. At the time of "The Dial's" suspension, George William Curtis wrote to a friend what might stand as its benediction. He said: "'The Dial' stops. Is it not like the going out of a star? Its place was so unique in our literature! All who wrote and sang for it were clothed in white garments; and the work itself so calm and collected, though springing from the same undismayed hope which furthers all our best reforms. But the intellectual worth of the times will be told in other ways, though 'The Dial' no longer reports the progress of the day."

No wonder that Curtis deplored the demise of "The Dial," for in its pages as a fledgeling he had first tried his literary wings; here, too, Thoreau, and Charles A. Dana, the great editor of "The New York Sun," together with other authors, began their literary careers which ever reflected credit on Brook Farm and "The Dial."

The consideration of Transcendentalism, though foreign to the spirit of the day, is nevertheless a study that is sorely needed; if the good people of Brook Farm in their enthusiastic devotion flew on too wide a tangent in the direction of the ideal, we of this generation are even more deluded in our deflection towards the material, and, of the two errors, that of the Transcendentalists was the lesser, for at least their aims were very high. Their great mistake lay in neglecting the actual world and in segregating themselves from society—they provided no ballast, and hence soared too high. But their hermit-like predilection had an element of reason, though carried too far; like the life in monasteries, there was in their practice at Brook Farm a modicum of truth, for it is to the quiet and self-contained soul that wisdom speaks, and not to him burdened and absorbed with the things of life; he must dispossess him-

TRANSCENDENTALISM

self of the crowds of worldly thoughts and sights, and render his mind still and neutral, that his higher intellectual and spiritual faculties may have room to exercise themselves. "Be still," say the Scriptures, "and know that I am God."

NOTE—The following are the more important books consulted: "Transcendentalism in New England," by Octavius B. Frothingham, New York, 1876; "Brook Farm," by Lindsay Swift, New York, 1900; "The Poets of Transcendentalism," edited by George W. Cooke, Boston, 1903; "Transcendentalism," (French) by William Girard, University California, 1916; "The Magazine in America," by Algernon Tassin, New York, 1916.



Henry Glover

Glover Arms—Sable, a chevron erminites between three crescents argent.

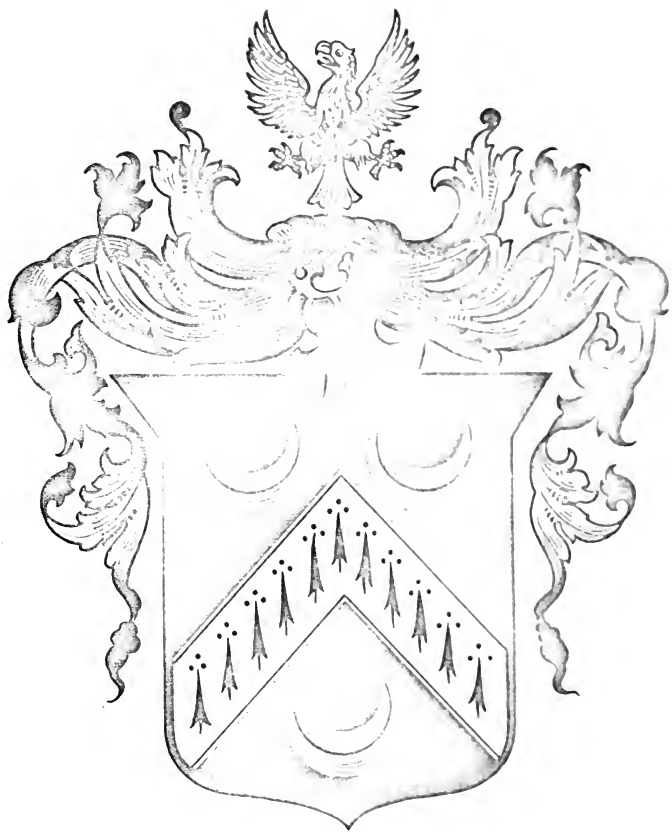
Crest—An eagle displayed argent, charged on the breast with three spots of erminites.



TO a citizen of St. Louis, Missouri, whose activities were centered in the past generation and whose busy life was richly productive of beneficial result to his community, this record is dedicated. Henry Glover, in the time between his coming to St. Louis from his Cincinnati home in 1847, until his death, rose to prominent industrial and commercial place, and caused his influence, strong and uplifting, to be felt in many circles of his adopted city. Mr. Glover was one of a group of progressive, public-spirited men whose unselfish service and hopeful vision are of value even in the St. Louis of today, and this recognition is eminently fitting.

Glover is an ancient name in England, and, from what has been gathered of its origin, is indisputably Saxon. In some of the oldest counties, as Warwickshire and Kent, it was at a very ancient date written Golofre—then Glove, and in the middle of the fourteenth century it was written as it now is, Glover. It has undergone no change since, excepting that some of the earliest settlers of New England occasionally wrote it with a "u," instead of a "v," as may be sometimes seen in the oldest documents, viz., Glouer; although there is no record of the name being spelled in that way in England at any time. It was a corruption which soon went into disuse, and the name written Glover again according to the English orthography, and has continued to be so written to the present day.

Lancashire is one of the northern counties of England, and the town of Prescott, in that county, is one of its most extensive towns. It is bounded on the south by the river Mersey; on the west by Walton parish; on the north-northwest by Ormskirk parish; and on the east by the parish of Warrington. Its extreme length is twelve miles, from Dalton on the south to Mumford on the north; its breadth is eight miles. It is situated in the western part of the



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county, about ten miles from Liverpool in the same county, and two hundred and twenty-five miles from London by railway. It was divided into parishes, one of which, Rainhill, was the birthplace of John Glover, who in 1630 emigrated, with others under Governor Winthrop, to New England, and became the American ancestor of numerous descendants. In 18th Edward III., William Daniel held the towns of Dutton, Rainhill and Eccleston. His possession of them was temporary, and in 12th Henry IV. they were held by Alan de Norrrys, under the Baron of Bolton. The Ecclestons for a long time were Lords of the Manor of Barton Head, in Dutton. The family of Norrrys acquired Rainhill in the time of Edward II., and held the manors of Dutton, Rainhill and Eccleston, under Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who held the Duchy in the time of Henry VIII., and sold portions of it in the time of Elizabeth to Thomas Glover, Esq., father of the American emigrant. Thomas Glover conveyed these lands to his eldest son, Mr. John Glover, of Rainhill, afterwards of Dorchester and Boston, who in 1652 by deed of gift conveyed them to his eldest son and heir apparent, Mr. Thomas Glover, of London, merchant. The Glovers were not early in Lancashire. The county history does not give any account of them until nearly the close of the sixteenth century. There is a tradition which has come down among some branches of his descendants, from father to son through long generations, which fixes their original county to be that of Warwick, and the city of Coventry, in that county, one of their original places of abode. This tradition has been attested and confirmed by Heralds.

Robert Glover, who suffered martyrdom in September, 1555, noticed by Fuller in his "Worthies," had brothers John, William and Thomas, and possessed estates in Monceter, Baxterly, and other places in the County of Warwickshire.

Thomas Glover, father of the first American founder, lived in Rainhill, Prescot, Lancashire, England, from the time of his marriage to Margery Deane, daughter of Thomas Deane, February 10, 1594, to his death, December 13, 1619.

1. *John Glover*, the eldest son of Thomas and Margery (Deane) Glover, was born in Rainhill parish, Prescot, Lancaster county, England, August 12, 1600, and died in Boston, in New England, "11, 12, 1653," in his fifty-fourth year. By his father's will he came into possession of large estates in England, situated in Rainhill,

Eccleston, Knowlesby, and other places. Being the eldest son, he inherited a double portion by right of primogeniture, and was named as an executor, with his mother, to carry out the provisions of that will, although at that time (1619) he was not of full age. He appears to have attained the age of manhood at Rainhill, living on his estates there, and married, about 1625, Anna, whose surname is unknown. He had three children born and baptized in that parish, the last in 1629. Previous to that, in 1628, his name appears on the records of the "London Company," organized at London in 1628. He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of London, established there at a very early date, and was a captain of that company. He was also a member of a lodge of Free Masons, and in fellowship with them before his emigration. He was sometimes called "the Worshipful Mr. Glover."

It is recorded that the Dorchester Company came in the *Mary and John*, which set sail from England the 20th of March, 1629-30, commanded by Captain Squeb, and who is said to have arrived on the coast of North America the 31st day of May, 1630. The manner in which he treated his passengers and deceived them by putting them on shore at Nantasket, when he had promised to land them at Charlestown, is too well known to require any detail here. Some of them took boats and found their way to Charlestown, and others, who remained at Nantasket, found out a way to Dorchester Neck, adjoining a place called by the Indians Mattapan, to which they gave the name of New Dorchester, and commenced a settlement about the first of June. The place was afterwards called Dorchester Plantation. The same writer says the Glovers were settled here a month before Governor Winthrop and the ships that came with him arrived. Mr. Glover came to New England in the *Mary and John*. It has been questioned by some as to the ship in which he came over, probably on account of a note of Mr. Frothingham, in his "History of Charlestown," by which it might appear that he arrived earlier. Frothingham, in a list of those who stayed and became inhabitants of Charlestown in the year 1629, gives the names of Increase Nowell, Esq., Mr. William Aspinwall, Mr. Richard Palsgrave, Edward Converse, William Penn, William Hudson, William Blackenbury, and Mr. John Glover. He also says that Mr. Glover removed to Dorchester, where he became a prominent man, being a selectman and a representative from 1637 to 1652. He also writes that Mr. Glover

died in 1654, which does not agree with Dorchester Town Records. The above from Frothingham has led many to doubt of his coming over in the *Mary and John* with the Dorchester Company; but he was always associated with them, his interests were identified with theirs, and he served them in a public capacity until his death, although he had removed to Boston. His name stands among a list of inhabitants at the incorporation of the town of Dorchester in 1631, according to "Blake's Annals." When the church was reorganized there (in 1636, Richard Mather, pastor), he and his wife Anna were among the first signers to the covenant. He may have remained in Charlestown until that time, but there is no evidence of it.

Mr. Glover was made freeman in England before his emigration, and took the oath of allegiance, which exempted him from that ceremony after his arrival here. The prefix of "Mr." he brought with him, which was then one of honor and dignity, and he has been more generally designated by that than any other title. His armorial bearings were those granted to Thomas Glover, Esq., of the Body of King James I., who was son of Thomas Glover, of Coventry, in Warwickshire, knighted 17th of August, 1606. Mr. Glover was called a godly and upright man. His religion was that of a strict Non-conformist, or Puritan, which appears to have been the ruling motive of his life, and led him to leave his English home and forego all the comforts and conveniences of an English life to settle on the cold, uncomfortable, cheerless shore of New England. His life after his arrival and settlement at Dorchester was evidently one of unceasing action and service to the colony. During a period of nearly eighteen years his name appears not only as a public officer in Dorchester, but in other towns among those who sat in judgment. In Salem, Charlestown, Cambridge, and at Barnstable and other places in the Plymouth Colony, he was frequently called in council in cases which required judicial decisions. John and Anna Glover were the parents of five children.

II. *Nathaniel Glover*, fourth son of John and Anna Glover, was born in 1630-31, died in Dorchester, May 21, 1657, and was buried in the ancient burial ground of that town. There are but few acts of his short life to be found on record. He attained the age of manhood in Dorchester, and succeeded to the homestead at the time of his father's removal to Boston in 1652. On the 22nd of the 3rd month he was admitted to the church there, in full communion. On

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May 3, 1654, he took the freeman's oath, and was recorded among the New England freeman. In 1655 he was chosen one of the selectmen of Dorchester, and again in 1656 and 1657. He was appointed with others in 1655 to settle the bounds between Dorchester and Dedham; and was chosen to fill other offices in the town. He married, in 1652, Mary Smith, born at Toxteth Park, near Liverpool, Lancashire, England, July 20, 1630, died in Barnstable, July 29, 1703, aged seventy-three years, daughter of Quartermaster John Smith and his first wife, Mary Ryder, of Toxteth Park. Mary (Smith) Glover married (second), March 2, 1659-60, Hon. Thomas Hinckley, of Barnstable, afterwards governor of the Plymouth Colony for many years.

III. Nathaniel (2) Glover, son of Nathaniel (1) and Mary (Smith) Glover, was born in Dorchester, 30: 1: 1653, and baptized 3: 2: 1653, by Rev. Richard Mather. He died at Newbury farm in that town, January 6, 1723-4, aged seventy-one years, and was buried in the westerly part of the ancient burial yard. At the age of seven years, in 1660, he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Mr. Habackuk Glover, of Boston, who succeeded his mother in that appointment at the time of her marriage to Governor Hinckley, and removed to Barnstable. He was placed at school in Boston, and resided in the family of his grandmother, Mrs. Anna Glover, and after her decease in 1670 with his uncle and guardian until about the time of his own marriage. In 1672-3, at the age of twenty years, he was married to Hannah Hinckley, of Barnstable, and occupied the homestead at Dorchester, a part of which was his inheritance, although on account of his minority the estate remained as yet undivided. In 1677, the second day of his eighth month, he was admitted to the church at Dorchester; also "Mrs. Hannah, the wife of Mr. Nathaniel Glover." In 1683 he was elected constable, and was afterwards chosen to serve as selectman, continuing in that office a few years, the last in 1715. Hannah Hinckley, the wife of Nathaniel Glover, was born in Barnstable, April 15, 1650, and died in Dorchester, at Newbury farm, April 30, 1730, in her eighty-first year, and was buried on the westerly side. She was the fourth daughter of Governor Thomas Hinckley by his first wife, Mary Richards, granddaughter of Thomas and Welthean (Loring) Richards, of the early settlers of Weymouth.

IV. Nathaniel (3) Glover, eldest son of Nathaniel (2) and Han-

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nah (Hinckley) Glover, was born at the Dorchester homestead, November 10, 1676, baptized the 13th of the same month, and died in London, England, March 13, 1726, in his fiftieth year. He left a widow and six children. He is said to have been remarkable for his early piety. At the age of ten years he voluntarily gave himself to the watch and care of the church in Dorchester, and was admitted as a member in full communion at the age of twenty years. "Since August," say the church records, "unto this instant, Dec., 1696, the following persons, having been proved by the pastor as to their knowledge and experience, and by the congregation as to conversation, publicly took hold on the covenant, viz., young Nathaniel Glover (jun.), Mary Glover," and others. During his minority he was engaged in the tanning business, carried on by his father on the Glover estate. At the age of twenty-four years, November 13, 1701, he was married to Rachael Marsh, of Braintree, by the Worshipful Mr. Wilson. She was the daughter of Alexander and Martha Marsh, of Braintree, and was born there 12: 2: 1673. Soon after her marriage she was admitted to join the church at Dorchester. The records inform us: "Among those names of such as were examined, allowed and propounded before the Church for laying hold on the Covenant, Feb. 3, 1701-2, were Nathaniel Glover's wife Rachael, Elizabeth and Hannah Glover." She died April 10, 1752, aged seventy-nine years. They had seven children, all baptized in the church with which they were in full communion. Nathaniel Glover was a man of property and influence, filled public offices with ability and honor, and represented his fellow-citizens in important capacities. Chief of these was as agent to present the case of the original proprietors against the new proprietors before the King, and he died in England after obtaining a hearing before the King in Council.

V. *Alexander Glover*, second son of Nathaniel (3) and Rachael (Marsh) Glover, was born at the homestead in Dorchester, November 13, 1710, baptized November 26, 1710, by the Rev. John Danforth, died in Dorchester, March 15, 1770, in his sixtieth year, and was buried in the ancient burial yard.

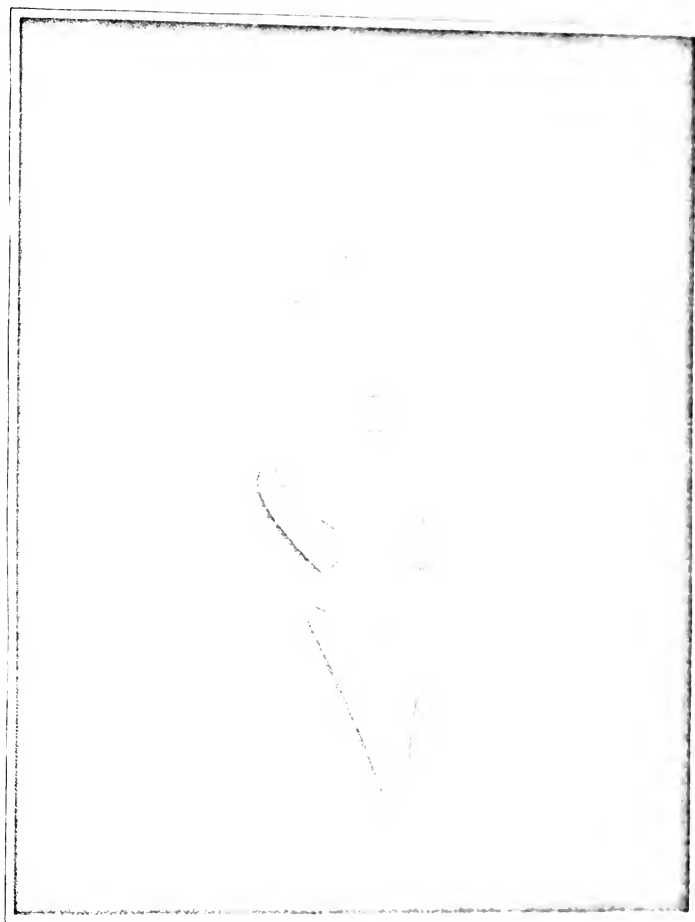
He was married, February 5, 1732, to Sarah White, daughter of Edward and Patience (Bird) White, by Rev. Jonathan Bowman. She was born in Dorchester, April 3, 1711, and died there December 3, 1790, in her eightieth year. He occupied the homestead

with his mother, and at her decease succeeded to his inheritance. It has been said of him that he possessed in a remarkable degree those admirable and desirable traits of character and habits of life which distinguished his father, although not called to so public and active a life. He was a member of the Dorchester church, and adorned his profession by a quiet, sober, and useful life. He occasionally served in town offices. On May 13, 1746, his name is enrolled among a list of elderly persons qualified to serve as grand jurors for the county of Suffolk; in 1744 he is enrolled among those capable of bearing arms and liable to appear at alarm, "and living within the limits of the First Independent Company in the Town of Dorchester, whereof Col. Estes Hatch is Captain."

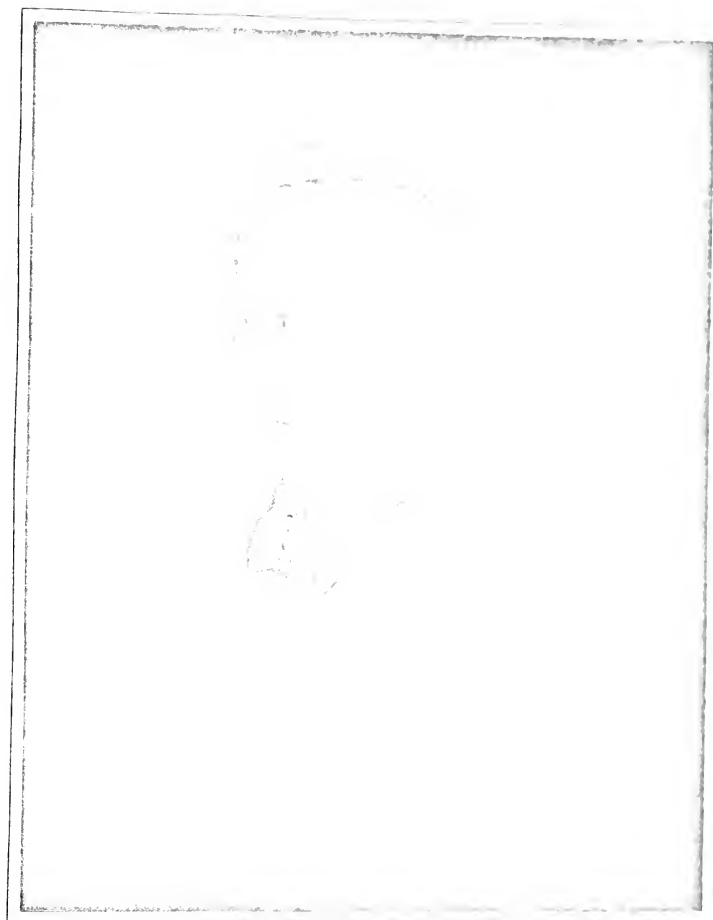
VI. Alexander (2) Glover, second son of Alexander (1) and Sarah (White) Glover, was born in Dorchester, February 1, 1741, and he died there July 13, 1813, in his seventy-third year. He succeeded his father in the possession of the Dorchester homestead, formerly belonging to John Glover, Esq., of Dorchester and Boston, and was the fifth in the direct line of succession from him. He was engaged in the lumber trade for many years. He was an honorable and worthy citizen, inheriting the virtues and noble traits which characterized his ancestors; and was of a mild and genial temperament, upright and honest. He married, December 28, 1769, Rev. Jedediah Adams officiating, Hannah Pope, of Stonington. She was the daughter of Dr. Ralph and Rebeckah (Stubbs) Pope, of Stonington, and was born there June 1, 1744; she died in Dorchester, September 28, 1825, in her eighty-second year.

VII. James Glover, son of Alexander (2) and Hannah (Pope) Glover, was born at the Glover homestead in Dorchester, January 21, 1785, and became an eminent and successful merchant of Boston. He married, December 14, 1809, Jane Beale, daughter of Joseph and Lillie (Davis) Beale. James Glover died January 19, 1869, his wife April 15, 1862. They were the parents of six children.

VIII. Henry Glover, son of James and Jane (Beale) Glover, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, September 7, 1808, and was educated in that place. Entering business life, he was for a time located in Boston, in 1847 coming west to St. Louis, Missouri, where the remainder of his active life was past. In St. Louis, Mr. Glover entered the industrial field as a glass manufacturer, later devoting his attention to mercantile pursuits as the proprietor of a grocery



Henry J. Brown



Susan D. Fitcham Glover

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store. This was followed by association with John Howe in the saddlery business, but he afterward returned to glass manufacturing and made that his sphere of endeavor thereafter. His plant became one of the important establishments of the city, manufacturing a product of high quality under the most improved methods, and Mr. Glover attained a high degree of success as a manufacturer. His important standing in glass making circles was largely attributable to the fact that from one achievement he pressed constantly forward to another, carrying with him, through the force of his energy and enthusiasm, all of his associates in an enterprise. He possessed an apparently limitless capacity for work, introduced efficient systems in all departments, and gave to his business a close attention and personal supervision that could not fail to accomplish desired results.

To all civic matters Mr. Glover gave interested attention, and his support was ever on the side of right and progress. During the Civil War he was an unfaltering believer in the Union cause, and supported the Federal Government at every turn. Mr. Glover, in the midst of a life busily occupied with industrial affairs, found time for devoted service in philanthropic and charitable organizations, and was a leader in such work in St. Louis.

Mr. Glover was one of St. Louis' citizens who had lived through a period witnessing the beginning of great development and progress in the history of the city, and in many of the movements that marked its onward and upward march he was privileged to bear an important part of the civic burden. His participation in an enterprise, whether in business relations or in public, lent an aspect of cheer and courage, for he was essentially an optimist, with faith in his fellows and with full assurance that all things work together for good.

Henry Glover married, in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 14, 1833, Susan Dana Flintham, born in Philadelphia, June 2, 1806, died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 23, 1885, daughter of William and Mary (Bradford) Flintham (see Bradford line). They were the parents of the following children: Eliza L., born July 12, 1834, died November 2, 1897; Mary, born July 12, 1834, died in infancy; Henry, Jr., born October 17, 1836, died August 11, 1892, in St. Louis; Jane Beale, born August 31, 1838, a resident of St. Louis; William Flintham, born May 9, 1841, died August 7, 1842, in St. Louis.

HENRY GLOVER

Henry Glover died in St. Louis, September 7, 1867. This record has spoken of him as a business man of distinguished parts, a citizen helpful and faithful. There remains only to speak of him in his relation to his home, where the nobility of his character and the generosity of his spirit had full play, and where, in the creation and enjoyment of happiness, the finest qualities of his mind and heart were shown.

Henry Glover, Jr., was the organizer of the News Boys' Home, having associated with him in this splendid work Mr. Garland, Mr. Elliot, and other prominent citizens of St. Louis, and he became president of that institution. Its purpose was to supply insofar as possible the atmosphere and advantages of home life to those future citizens whom circumstances had deprived of such advantages, and to lighten for them the burden of self-support at such an early age. Few institutions in any city have realized so fully the end for which they were created, and the splendid record of the News Boys' Home was due in large measure to the unflagging loyalty and energetic leadership of Henry Glover, Jr. Mr. Glover was an uncompromising Republican, and a member of the Unitarian church.

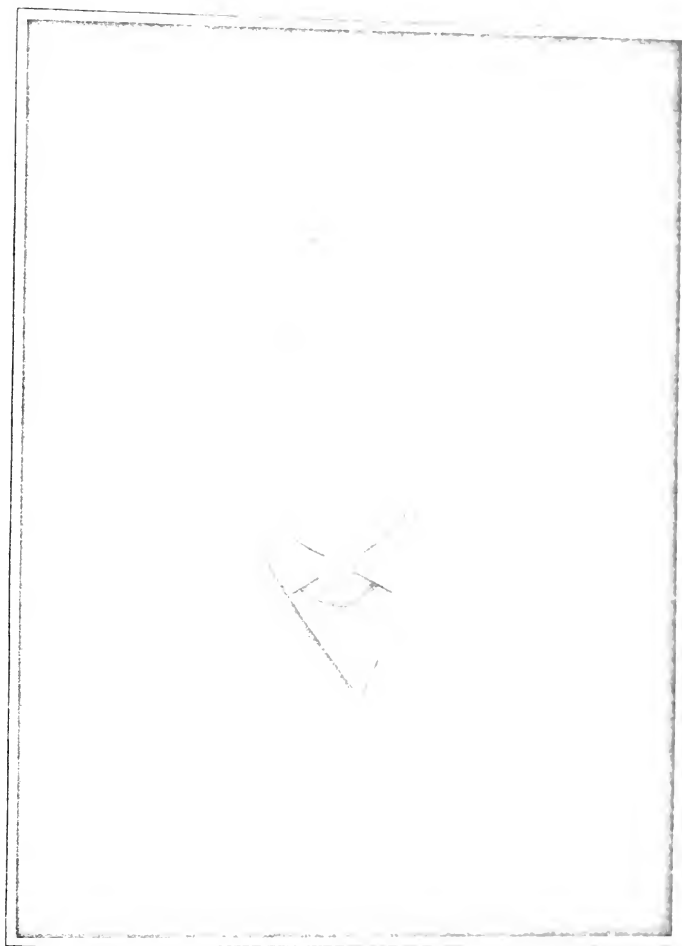
(The Bradford Line).

Arms—Argent, on a fesse sable three stags' heads erased or.

Crest—A stag's head erased or.

Motto—*Nec temere, nec timide* (Neither rashly, nor timidly).

This branch of the noted Bradford family was founded in America by William Bradford, born in Leicestershire, England, in 1660, who was baptized in Burwell Church, Leicestershire, in May, 1663. He was a son of William Bradford, a printer, who was buried in Burwell Church, October 9, 1668, and Ann, his wife, who was buried June 28, 1683. The parents did not come to America. William Bradford left England September 1, 1682, in the ship *Welcome*, and arrived here October 27 of the same year. He was the first printer in Pennsylvania. In 1693 he moved to New York, and was appointed crown printer to the government. He printed the "New York Gazette" in October, 1725, the first newspaper in the colony, and in 1728 assisted in building the first paper mill in North America, on Wissahickon creek. He was a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, died May 23, 1752, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard. He married (first) April 2, 1685, Elizabeth Sowle, who died July, 1735; married (second) a widow Smith.



Henry Glover, Jr.



HENRY GLOVER

I. William (2) Bradford, son of William (1) Bradford, was born about 1688, and died in New York, prior to January 24, 1759. He moved to New York in 1693, was a printer, and for a time followed the sea. In his will, probated January 24, 1759, he styled himself "pewterer." He married, November 25, 1716, Sytie, baptized April 14, 1695, died after June 5, 1760, daughter of Abraham Santvoort (Santford).

II. Colonel William (3) Bradford, son of William (2) Bradford, was born in New York, January 19, 1721 (O.S.). He resided in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he was a printer and publisher, and died September 25, 1791, aged seventy-two years. He married, August 15 (or 18), 1742, Rachel Budd, born January 7, 1720 (O.S.), died June 26, 1780.

III. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Bradford, son of Colonel William (3) Bradford, was born May 4, 1745, in Philadelphia, and died there May 7, 1838, aged ninety-three years. He was a printer and publisher, and during the Revolution was captain of a militia company, also deputy commissary general of prisoners in the American army, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He married, November 23, 1768, Mary Fisher, who died November 18, 1805.

IV. Mary Bradford, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Bradford, was baptized in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, and died October 2, 1806, aged thirty-three years. She married, February 3, 1803, William Flintham, born in 1706, died February 28, 1838. Issue: 1. William Flintham, born July 12, 1804, died in 1850; married, in October, 1839, Ann Eliza Weber. 2. Susan Dana Flintham, born June 2, 1806, died January 23, 1885, in St. Louis, Missouri; married, November 14, 1833, Henry Glover (q.v.). 3. Thomas Bradford Flintham, married Miss Doaks, both deceased.





The Presidential Election



THE presidential election of 1920 brought about conditions without parallel in the history of the nation. Both the leading candidates were natives of the same State, and their lives in large degree ran in parallel channels. Both were journalists, and were equally successful in their field, both financially and in the morals and ethics which distinguished their professional work. Both rendered public services of substantial worth, and bringing honor to themselves. The story of their lives is well worth the telling in these pages in comprehensive form.

Warren G. Harding, man of many activities and strong character, a successful journalist, a statesman of rank, having seen service in the Legislature of his State, and as United States Senator, and whose fortune it was to be elected to the presidency of the United States, was born November 25, 1865, near Blooming Grove, Morrow county, Ohio, son of Dr. George T. and Phoebe (Dickerson) Harding. In the paternal line he is descended from a Colonial family coming originally from Scotland, settling first in Connecticut, whence they removed to Pennsylvania, where some of its members were slain in the Wyoming Massacre by the Indians; others fought in the Revolutionary War. The mother of Warren G. Harding came from the Van Kirks, an ancient and well known Holland family.

Young Harding was born on his grandfather's farm, where his parents were then residing. He was the eldest of eight children, some of whom attained more than ordinary distinction—one as a physician, one as a school instructor, and one as a missionary in a foreign field. His youthful life was one of honest and health giving toil—felling trees, splitting rails, and ordinary farm work with plough in spring, and driving or following the reaper in harvest time. His education began in the village school, and at the age of fourteen he entered Ohio Central College at Iberia. Dependent entirely upon himself, on several occasions he was obliged to suspend his studies and go out to earn the means to pay his way. At one time he painted barns, at another he drove a team, helping to grade

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

a railroad roadbed. Finally, however, he graduated, ranking high in scholarship. During his college days he served as editor of the college journal, in which work he showed real ability and displayed a liking for journalism that contributed to his future in no small degree. Following this bent, he worked at odd times in the village printing office, and became an expert compositor; this was before the days of the linotype, and to this day he carries as a "luck piece" the printer's rule he used while "sticking type." For a short time he taught a country school, and he played an instrument in the village band.

When he was nineteen years old, his parents removed to Marion, Ohio, which was destined to be his own place of residence to the present time. Here was published "The Star," a small newspaper in a town of four thousand people. It was in an almost moribund condition, but young Harding yearned to possess it, and he made the purchase, aided by his father's credit. To give it a firm establishment was a real task, but he accomplished it, at the cost of much labor, performing at one time or other every detail of printing office work from that of "devil" to that of business manager and editor. At this time (1921), Mr. Harding still its principal owner, with his permanent employees as stockholders, "The Star" is at the height of newspaper prosperity, and is not purchasable at any price. During all the years of his connection with it, and in which the population of the city was octupled, he made it a prime factor in inviting and encouraging local development along all lines of industrialism, aiding all such financially to the extent of his ability, and he was at one time or other a director in most of such establishments. In its more extended field, "The Star" held to lofty ideals; conservative, it yet has been fearless in its support of any vital question, and its influence may be somewhat measured from the fact that it has the reputation of enjoying the largest circulation of any newspaper in a city of thirty thousand in the Middle West.

Mr. Harding's employees have never embarrassed him with a strike, and the reason for this immunity may be discerned in his policy as an employer, which is embodied in one of his addresses on the subject of the relations between capital and labor:

"In my private pursuits, as a newspaper publisher, I am an employer of Organized Labor, having never known a controversy, and

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I believe most cordially in rational unionism. Organization and collective bargaining, under wise leadership, have done more to advance the cause of Labor than all other agencies combined, and any one who thinks to destroy sane unionism, by legislation or otherwise, is blind to conditions firmly established and is insensible to a public sentiment which is deliberate and abiding. But the advancement of unionism is one thing and the domination of organized labor is quite another. I subscribe to the first and oppose the latter. I do not believe in any class domination, and the long fight to remove the domination of capital, now fairly won, is lost if labor domination is substituted in its stead."

Mr. Harding's public life began with his election to the Legislature of his State, and his service in that body was so well regarded that he was returned for a second term, serving temporarily as lieutenant-governor, and declining a renomination. During this period he was equipping himself most efficiently for the higher position to which he was called in 1914, that of United States Senator. This was two years after the unfortunate schism in the Republican party in 1912 which resulted in Democratic success in the State of Ohio. That in his case there was a thorough cementing of the opposing factions, is evidenced by the fact that Mr. Harding became Senator by a plurality of more than one hundred thousand, he running seventy-three thousand ahead of the next highest candidate on his party ticket. In his new and more distinguished position he found his previous service in the Legislature to have served a good purpose. His liberal fund of general information and his wide experience with men and affairs, gave him a comprehensive grasp of the problems with which the national legislative body has to deal, and on his first appearance in his senatorial place it became apparent to his compeers that he was no novice, but one well qualified to render valuable service, and his utterances on the floor invariably commanded respectful attention. Among other assignments, his principal one was to the Committee on Foreign Relations—one of supreme importance when war broke out on foreign soil, with its beginnings of complications with regard to the United States. From the first dawning of questions of momentous national importance, Senator Harding never failed to speak and act up to the full courage of his convictions, no matter how serious the opposition. He was among the earliest to advocate preparedness for war, while others were demanding any sacrifice whatever to preserve peace.

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He sponsored the bill for preparedness which had the energetic approval of Colonel Roosevelt, with whom he was so intimately associated during the pendency of war measures that it came to be widely rumored throughout the country, as evidenced by the public press of that day, that Colonel Roosevelt regarded him as the logical Republican candidate for the presidency in 1920. This close relationship between these two sturdy Americans gave each a deep confidence in the sincerity and singleness of purpose of the other in arousing an unsuspecting people to a realizing sense of impending danger in those crucial hours; and this intimacy and mutual confidence continued until the lamented death of the most flaming and strenuous American of his day. The later utterances of Senator Harding with reference to the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, and questions of importance in relation thereto, proved him to be a man of poise, not to be swayed by clamor or passionate appeal, but capable of exercising deliberate and wise judgment even amidst the turmoil of the most bitter opposition.

Soon after entering the Senate of the United States, Mr. Harding was selected as the chairman of the Republican National Committee, and the absence of factional strife in reaching that result gave gratifying evidence of his high standing in the party throughout the nation. In his masterly presentation of the name of President Taft for renomination in 1912 in Chicago, to the most turbulent convention in the annals of Republicanism, overcoming massed opposition and irritating interruption with good humor and the persuasive power of his eloquence, and, in his keynote address at the last national convention, he acquired a nationwide reputation as an orator and as a safe and sane thinker. In presiding over the deliberations of his committee, he proved himself a man of poise, and a masterly parliamentarian.

During the last score of years, Senator Harding made three visits abroad, visiting most of the European countries, his principal purpose being to study at close range the economic problems with which they had to deal—the tariff, the standard of wages paid workmen in the various countries, and the varied conditions of their mode of life. After his election to the Senate, and before taking his seat, he visited the Hawaiian Islands in quest of information upon the production and distribution of sugar. He has spoken many times and in almost every State of the Union, addressing now a wool-growers'

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association, now a farmers' institute, now a convention of steel and iron masters, and now an association of miners, of railroad employees, or workmen from some other branch of industry, thus familiarizing himself with the needs of all classes and of every section, and with the thoughts and hopes and inspirations of all sorts and conditions of men. Having himself climbed the ladder from the lowest rung, he habitually gave an attentive ear and careful thought to the claims and problems of men in every station of life.

Regarding the last campaign, that of 1920, it is to be said that the progress of the Republican National Convention, from beginning to end, epitomized the political growth of Senator Harding. Entering upon the contest with no advantage of organization, even with a slight defection in certain quarters in his home State (not to be regarded seriously save as a handicap in a convention), his assets in the nominating body were many friends, with no enemies.

As the nominee of his party for the presidency, Mr. Harding made many addresses during the campaign, principally at his home, and from its portico extending his greetings to hosts of visiting bodies, and giving brief but sturdy expression to his political sentiments. His election in November was by the most tremendous popular vote ever accorded a presidential candidate in the history of the country, with a corresponding preponderance in the electoral college. He is the first professional newspaper man to occupy the presidency of the nation. He has been frequently compared with President McKinley in certain personal qualities—approachability, his capacity for meeting with serenity men holding to views different from his own, and a disposition to conciliate rather than to antagonize.

Following the election in which he achieved so wonderful a victory, Mr. Harding invited and received at his home very many representative men of all political views and business interests, in order to acquaint himself as thoroughly as possible with all shades of opinion. His inauguration as President was marked with the utmost simplicity, but without the least sacrifice of dignity. A great parade and imposing public demonstration had been prepared for by Congress and the people of the National Capital, but against this Mr. Harding protested, principally because of the great expense it would impose upon the national treasury and upon the many visitors from all parts of the country. His decision was applauded all

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but universally, for sake of its example as tending to economy at a time when all interests and all people are burdened with taxation to an extent never before deemed possible.

Mr. Harding married, in 1891, Florence Kling, daughter of the late Amos Kling, a leading business man of Marion, Ohio. She inherited the business acumen of her father, and has proven a tower of strength to her husband in all his business relations and political aspirations. The family are members of Trinity Baptist Church, in their home city, Marion, Ohio.

James Middleton Cox, Member of Congress, and three times Governor of his State, was born March 31, 1870, in Jacksonburg, Ohio, son of Gilbert and Eliza A. Cox. His father was a man of stern character, but to whom he was deeply attached; the tie between the lad and his mother was exceptional, and he has said that the greatest pleasure he ever obtained from being governor was to have her witness his inauguration into that office. The lad's youth was passed after the fashion of a farmer's son of that day. From an early age he bore a busy part in farm work, and attended the primitive country school. He received his religious training in the neighborhood church of the United Brethren, of which he became a member at the age of fifteen, (his father then the superintendent of the Sunday school, and in which he himself became a teacher), and to which he adhered until the family removed to Middletown, where was no church of his denomination, and he became connected with the Methodists, though he never transferred his membership from his first church home. His activity of mind in his youthful days is discernible in his habits. Many evenings he sat in a village store listening to his elders discuss the political questions of the day; he was an industrious newspaper reader, and a noticeable patron of the church library, and took a leading part in amateur dramatic entertainments. For about a year he attended an academy, and this was the extent of his scholastic training. He had at intervals acted as church janitor, as a newsboy, and as "printer's devil." He now became the teacher in the familiar old schoolhouse, passing thence to serve similarly in two others, and was for three terms in such employment. In that day, a teacher was expected to rule with the rod. Disagreeing with this custom, in its stead he appealed to the hearts and reason of his scholars, and only recently, in review-

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ing his life, he has said that he owes much to his experience as a teacher, and to that he ascribes much of his success in leading men, rather than driving them.

At the age of twenty-one, Mr. Cox purchased the Middletown "News-Signal," upon which he had worked at odd times, and here he performed all the work of an old-time printer—as compositor, make-up man and pressman. His mental equipment was ample, despite his lack of school advantages; he had acquired familiarity with the classics, and was well versed in history and biography. His editorial columns were marked by plain, understandable and unstilted language. On one occasion a railroad wreck occurred in his vicinity, involving the loss of several lives. The account of this Mr. Cox sent to the Cincinnati "Enquirer," and it was so favorably received that he was offered a situation on that paper. This he accepted, and continued in its employ for two years, when he resigned. During this period he had cherished a desire for a greater field, and this he found in the capacity of private secretary to Congressman Sorg, whom he served efficiently during two sessions, at the same time performing much work as a newspaper correspondent. He now, at the suggestion and with the assistance of Mr. Sorg, purchased a controlling interest in the Dayton "News," which was then operating at a loss, and this he placed upon a paying basis. Later he bought the Springfield "Press-Republic," changing its name to "The News." Both these properties he placed on firm paying foundations; each is housed in a beautiful stone building; they enjoy remarkable circulations; and stand as monuments to the foresight, enterprise and industry of their owner.

The public career of Mr. Cox began in 1908, when he was elected to Congress, and he was returned for a second term by an increased plurality. During his first term he served on the District of Columbia Committee, and in the second term on the Appropriations Committee. He attracted attention by his opposition to the famous Payne-Aldrich bill, and for his efforts for the establishment of a national Children's Bureau. He was one of the first to urge upon Congress appropriations for aeroplane construction, and the investigation of the National Soldiers' Homes.

In 1912 Mr. Cox was elected governor. He had some advantage in the breach in the ranks of the Republican party, yet his success lay in largest degree in his stout advocacy of certain reform meas-

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ures, and a considerable personal popularity as the result of his congressional service. His purposes involved a series of amendments to the State constitution, and considerable constructive legislation, some fifty distinct measures, covering a wide range of subjects—reorganization of the school and taxation systems, a workmen's compensation law, provisions for a budget system, etc., etc. It was a task requiring constant vigilance and astute diplomacy, but he redeemed the promises of his campaign. This was at great cost, however, for his many innovations had awakened bitter opposition among influential interests, particularly those engaged in the liquor traffic, and he was defeated at the polls in his candidacy for re-election. In 1916 he was again the Democratic candidate for the same office, and was elected, but by a reduced plurality of less than 7,000, while Wilson carried the State by almost 90,000. In this contest, Mr. Cox confronted the same difficulties as in the year which brought him defeat. In 1918 he was elected for a third gubernatorial term, making a wonderful record for a Democrat in a State normally largely Republican. In all these six years of his administration, amid all the disturbances growing out of labor questions, and which were attended by scenes of violence in various States, he did not once call out the militia to police a strike.

Governor Cox's gubernatorial record, particularly in his last term, made him a figure of national importance, and eventually brought him the nomination for the presidency as the Democratic candidate. He had taken strong ground for the enforcement of whatever law was on the statute books, regardless of his views as to the expediency of such a law, and it was his enforcement of that establishing prohibition in the State that worked his defeat in his second candidacy. To the woman suffrage question he was most favorable, and his encouragement to the leaders in that cause extended beyond the confines of his own State, while in his own he labored for the passage and signed every bill presented to him which was helpful to the cause. He had a first hand in the great mass of State legislation covering business service, the protection of workmen along the many lines wherein oppression may be wrought by unrighteous employers, social service for the safeguarding of health and the care of children and the afflicted; improvement in the educational system; fostering agricultural and kindred interests; and road improvement; with many others not to be enumerated—in all making

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a chapter of improvement probably not to be equalled in a like period of time in the history of the country.

As governor during the World War, Mr. Cox endeared himself particularly to the host of young men of his State who offered themselves for the great struggle. He was extremely conservative during the days which preceded the outbreak, but when the real crisis came, he gave himself over devotedly to the great cause in which his country was enlisted. He furthered every governmental movement looking to the enrollment of troops; and was particularly industrious in caring for the soldiers of his own State, formulating and favoring all the legislation in their behalf, and making numerous visits throughout the State and to Washington City in their interest.

Governor Cox was first suggested as a presidential possibility at a conference of Governors and Mayors, called by the President, and who assembled at the White House, March 3-5, 1919, to consider conditions throughout the country with relation to commerce, industrialism and municipal and general governmental relations. In the nominating convention, after "favorite sons" had been complimented, the contest settled down between William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney-General Palmer, and Governor Cox. The battle was royal to the forty-third ballot; the forty-fourth was never taken, the chorus of affirmation for Governor Cox proclaiming the unanimous vote of the convention. In the ensuing heated contest, Mr. Cox displayed remarkable powers of endurance, traveling into all parts of the country, and speaking to hundreds of large assemblages, and frequently several times the same day, with all the fervor of an accomplished orator.

Governor Cox was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was united in Cincinnati, May 25, 1893, was a member of the Harding family of that city, Mary by name, and to them three children were born: Helen, now Mrs. Daniel Mahoney, whose husband is a member of the Dayton News Company; John, now a student in a military academy in Indiana; and James. He married (second) in September, 1917, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Blair, a prominent man of business in Chicago; the ceremony was performed by Rev. Washington Gladden, a well known divine of Washington City. Of this marriage was born one child, Anne.

NOTE.—The foregoing is from "American Biography: A New Cyclopedia," Vol. IX, now in press; The American Historical Society, Inc.

Editorial

OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Following after historical narratives of unique institutions of learning in previous issues of this magazine, mention is now to be made of two others—one of most unusual history, the other of unusual purposes and accomplishments.

Taking the latter first, Valparaiso University, at Valparaiso, Indiana, is to be accorded a place of its own. Its primal academical foundation suffered wreck, and its restoration was as a school for the preparation of teachers, from which it developed into the great University of today. The story is interestingly told on the initial pages of the present issue of our magazine, leaving nothing to be here said beyond a word of appreciation for those out of whose effort have grown such great results—results recognizable in the thousands of alumni dispersed throughout the entire country and in foreign lands, and adorning every professional and other honorable and useful calling. A curious coincidence attaches to this narrative in the fact that the editor, when he arranged for it, was not aware that the managing director of the Society publishing “Americana” was a graduate of the institution referred to.

It is not usual for a reviewer to pass upon such a work as “The General Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Williams College.” This volume, however, is deserving of notice, not only for the large number of noble names contained therein, but for the *fac simile* of the will of the founder of the institution which bears his name, Colonel Ephraim Williams, whom, by the way, Oliver Wendell Holmes admiringly refers to in one of his delightful volumes.

Williams College, seated at Williamstown, Massachusetts, is to be numbered among the very best of its class, and the story of its establishment is of peculiar interest. Colonel Williams was born in Newton, Massachusetts, February 24, 1715, son of a colonel of the same name, but of whom we learn nothing more. In youth he followed the sea, afterward joining the army and serving against the

French in Canada in the war of 1740-48. He attained the rank of captain, and in recognition of his service the government of Massachusetts made him a grant of two hundred acres of land in the present townships of Adams and Williamstown, Berkshire county. Within this territory he erected Fort Massachusetts, and was made commander of the entire line of frontier posts west of the Connecticut river. On the renewal of the war between England and France, in 1755, he commanded a Massachusetts regiment sent to join Sir William Johnson in the expedition against Crown Point. With a thousand white troops and two hundred Mohawk braves, he advanced to Bloody Pond, near the head of Lake George, where he fell into an ambuscade and was killed at the first fire, shot through the head. He was unmarried, and it would appear that a premonition of death moved him to make his will, at Albany, New York, when he was setting out on the campaign in which his life was lost. In that will he devised all his property for the establishment of a free school in the neighborhood of his home, and where grew up the town which was named for him. Upon his bequest was founded the Free School in Williamstown, incorporated in 1785, with power to conduct a lottery for the erection of a school house. The lottery realized \$3,500, to which the people added contributions amounting to \$2,000; these were large sums for that day. In 1790 a four-story building was erected (afterwards known as West College), and the following year the school was opened, with Rev. Ebenezer Fitch as principal. In 1793 the institution was incorporated as a college, with Mr. Fitch as its first president. The first commencement was in 1795, when four students were graduated. The catalogue published that year is said to be the earliest production of the kind in this country. In following years additional buildings were erected. Near the College edifice proper is Mills Park, on the site of and commemorating the students' prayer meeting out of which grew the first organization in America for foreign missionary work. The leader in that movement was Samuel J. Mills, whose name is the first appended to the constitution of the society. He devoted his life to missionary work, and was the inspiring spirit in the formation of the American Bible Society.

The memory of Colonel Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College, is further preserved by a memorial boulder planted by college alumni in 1854, on the spot upon which he fell in battle.

LITERARY NOTES

It is a pleasant experience for a reviewer to find upon his table at the same time, two such volumes as those treated immediately below—"The Joy Maker," and "Religion and Health." Each may be esteemed as in a way supplemental to the other, and they might well companion together on the same table.

The Joy Maker: A Guide to Happiness; by A. Eugene Bartlett, D. D.; Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, London.

In such a time as the present, with its unexampled burden of books worthless or positively vicious, it is a delight to occasionally find something of such genuine worth as "The Joy Maker." It warms the cockles of the heart. In literary construction it so rises above the ordinary book plane that we seem to lose sight of the printed page, and rather hear the words spoken into the ear with a quiet but persuasive eloquence. In sentiment it touches the best that lies in the human heart—the true humanities, as distinguished from the sordid and the selfish. Not a chapter but is of deep meaning—encouragement to the discouraged; consolation to the sorrowing; courage to the faltering; joy alike to him who is joyous, and to him to whom laughter is a stranger. It is a book which might well be bought in multiples—for one's own reading and rereading, for the friend who exemplifies the qualities here held up as worthy of emulation, and for that other friend who is needful of an uplift out of despondency and gloom.

Religion and Health; by James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph.D., Sc.D., etc.; Medical Director of Fordham University School of Sociology; Professor of Physiological Psychology, Cathedral College Lecturer on Psychology and Sociology; Little, Brown & Co., Boston; \$2.25 net.

The author of this volume is widely recognized as a prime leader as a writer of works not only of great instructional value, but of commanding interest as literature, nor is his fame confined to our own country. His "Makers of Modern Medicine" went into its third edition, breaking the record in that line. This was followed by "The Popes and Science," which Professor Pagel, of the University of Berlin, pronounced "the most serious contribution to the history of medicine that has ever come out of America"; and by "Old Time Makers of Medicine," which was commended by "The

London Lancet" as "a fascinating volume." In addition, the author's "The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries," and "The Century of Columbus," portraying the literature, science and art of those stupendous days, appealed to a larger reading element, and the first went into edition after edition to upwards of fifty thousand copies. Others of his volumes and contributions to periodical publications are numbered by the score.

In the subjects of neurology and psychiatry, Dr. Walsh has long been recognized as an authority than whom is none higher. In 1907 he came into his present chair of Physiological Psychology in the Cathedral College, New York City, in which he introduced and still continues a special course of his own formulation, to enable the medical students to understand the use of mental influences in medical treatment, and to apply them as far as practicable. It is along these lines that "Religion and Health" follows, but in a broader way, to bring its precepts within the comprehension of the ordinary man and woman, to the end that they may apply them to their own governance and in the rearing of their children. To this summing up does the author bring his reader in due course. Indulging in no fantastic recital of the marvels of mental influence, he tells simply, and at times humorously, how quacks and charlatans have unconsciously acted upon human minds; how much of that important chapter in the history of medicine, "The cures that have failed," is really the story of psychotherapy down through the ages; and how suggestion has its practical application in various forms of ailment—not only the functional nervous affections, but even organic disease—in modifying symptoms, relieving conditions, and encouraging the patient. "Suggestion," as he defines it, opens into a field of entrancing interest, fruitful with personal uplift and real benevolence, making it possible for one to be a healer of no mean parts to himself and to those about him. Of course the author is too much of a scientist to carry this to the extinguishment of the physician and surgeon. It is only to be added, that the word "Religion," as used by the author both as title and in part theme, is not used in any restricted meaning, to the propagation of any dogma. It is a lucid delineation of man in his physical and spiritual relations, and their interdependence. There could not be better purpose for writing a book than has possessed the author, whose thoughtful readers will find in his pages not only intellectual entertainment, but a potent antidote against a host of the unmoral pestilences of the day.

EDITORIAL

University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences; published by the University of Illinois; Urbana, Illinois.

The above-named quarterly publication is one of real value, dealing with topics of importance, and which are treated critically and dispassionately. The range of subjects is of the broadest, including history, science and literature. Under the former head and in different issues are such papers as "The West in the Diplomatic Negotiations of the American Revolution," and "Church and State in Massachusetts"; in literature, such as "The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry"; in domestic science such as "Labor Problems"; with a strong array of monographs on American morphology and biology. The subscription price is three dollars per annum, and there are special rates for individual monographs.

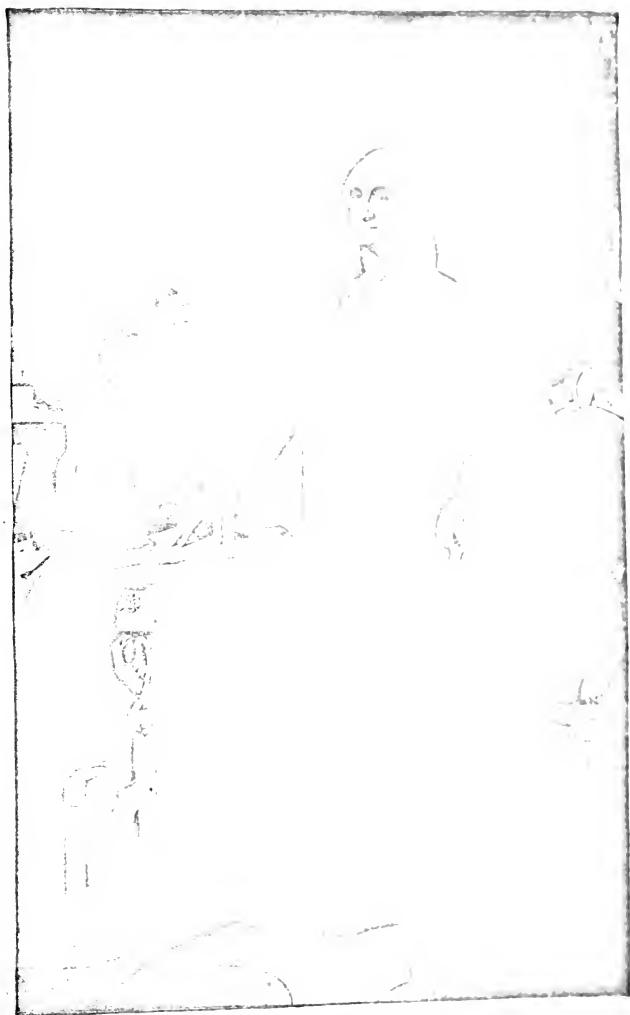
History of Col. Henry Boquet, and the Western Frontiers of Pennsylvania, 1747-1764; Collected and edited by Mary Carson Darlington; privately printed.

This volume was prepared for publication by Mary O'Hara Darlington, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who explains in a prefatory note that the author died June 18, 1915, leaving her work completed, with its dedication to the Daughters of the American Revolution of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, but that the printing was unavoidably delayed until the present time. The author had previously published "Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier," and the volume now issued is of much supplemental value. Her inspiration for her task she ascribes in large degree to "the increase of interest in the frontier history of Pennsylvania, caused by the establishment of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution." Her quoted matter and reproductions of papers of historic importance are of undoubted authenticity, and include Trent's Journal and General Boquet's papers, taken from the Library of the British Museum by Mr. William M. Darlington personally. Other authorities cited are John Entick's "Late War," published in 1766; Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," and standard French biographies. The volume is well printed, attractively bound, and contains an excellent portrait of General Henry Boquet, and maps of Logstown, Fort Duquesne, the Boquet battlefield, the rebuilt Fort Pitt Redoubt, Fort Bedford, and camp at Fort Ligonier, all reproductions in the best style of the engraver's art.

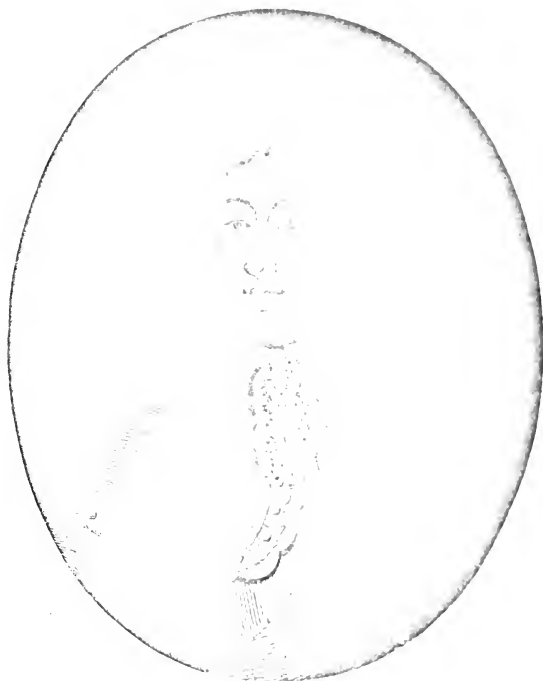
The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography; quarterly;
The Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

This publication occupies an important field, presenting the genealogies of a host of the very earliest families in America, and which are now represented in every State of the Union; while the historical pages abound in ancient papers covering every period of the Colony and State. In a recent number is an admirable tribute to the late William Gordon McCabe, one of Virginia's most illustrious educators and litterateurs. As a youth he carried away the highest graduation honors from Hampton Academy. He began his active career as a private tutor in a family at Westover, and his literary work with the "Southern Literary Messenger." Later he entered the University of Virginia, but soon leaving it, at the outbreak of the Civil War, to enter the Confederate army, in which he served with distinction, rising from the ranks to an artillery captaincy. After the return of peace, he opened McCabe's University School at Petersburg, which he continued until 1895, when he removed it to Richmond, and closed his educational work there in 1905, with a fame as a teacher second to that of none in America, to devote himself mainly to literature. The productions of his pen are altogether too many to enumerate; it may only be said that they covered both history and literature, poetry as well as prose, and he was an incomparable Latinist. His library was the finest and most unique private library in Virginia, and contained a multitude of autographed presentation copies from the most eminent authors of the day, foreign as well as domestic—historians, poets, essayists, fictionists, military critics, and the like. Among the many publications to which he contributed was the "History of the University of Virginia," Lewis Publishing Company, New York, now the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

To the end of his days, Dr. McCabe held to the political convictions which led him into the Confederate army. To quote his biographer in "The Virginia Magazine," "with all his unforgetting loyalty to old memories, he was none the less loyal to the later duties and obligations of the highest citizenship under a reconciled and restored Union. No one took a larger or more eager interest in the success of the Allies and America in the World War, in which his youngest son, a colonel in the United States army, served



GILBERT STUART'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON



DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY
Afterward James II., King of England

